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(Sgd) *[Signature]*

Date *22/3/72*

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FILE No. **NEQ 1/2** ✓ (Part)

TITLE: **INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION IN
IRAQ.**

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1971

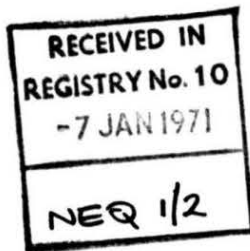
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FILE No.

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British Embassy,
BAGHDAD

(1/12)

31 December, 1970.

Law Vemica,

National Assembly Law

*Copy to Research
Dept.
done 1/1*

Mr. G. J. K. 7.

Please refer to our telegram no. 887 of 24 December which reported the publication of the National Assembly Law; you will by now have also received the text of the Law itself.

2. I will not waste your time by dilating upon the limitations of the Law; they are obvious enough. The powers of the National Assembly are laid down in the new Interim Constitution published in July (see Mike Jenner's letter 1/5 of 24 July to Peter Hinchcliffe.). We said then that the real power of the Assembly would depend very much on its composition; the new Law, providing for nomination of members by the R.C.C., does not suggest that it will be much more than a rubber stamp. The Law does not lay down the proportion of seats which will go to the K.D.P. and other political parties and this will no doubt have to be thrashed out in smoke-filled rooms at a later stage; at all events the Ba'ath Party will certainly seek to maintain the two thirds majority in the Assembly which is needed to retain full control (see Articles 51, 52 and 53 of the Interim Constitution and Article 11 of the National Assembly Law). The conditions of eligibility for membership of the National Assembly which take up a disproportionately large part of the new Law, do not suggest that its members will be drawn from the most competent quarters.

3. The new Law has been welcomed officially by the Kurds in the person of Salih al-Yusifi, Minister of State and member of the Political Bureau of the K.D.P.; he described it as a "progressive and constructive step forward ... the beginning of a new phase of democracy and national solidarity". Comment in the government-controlled press has predictably linked the new Law with other "progressive" steps such as the 11 March Manifesto itself and the raising of the state of emergency. Al Taakhi has been more circumspect. While welcoming the Law as "a step" towards democracy, it has pointed to some of its more obvious shortcomings and said that provision should have been made for the Assembly (a) to have wider legislative powers under the Interim Constitution, (b) to supervise free elections for a Constituent Assembly which might frame a Permanent Constitution and (c) to be elected by some body other than the executive.

.../4.

Miss V. E. Beckett,
Near Eastern Department,
F.C.O.

*pk
g
h*

CONFIDENTIAL



- 2 -

4. As far as we can see, there does not seem to be any particular reason for the timing of the publication of the Law. It was said to be on the way in November (see my letter 1/12 of 14 November). The Government have continued to be under pressure from the Kurds to carry out the promises they made last March and the promulgation of this law can be presented as meeting the Government's undertaking at that time, while not undermining the Ba'ath Party's control of government.

5. It has been suggested that the publication of the law at this particular time was intended as a sop to Mulla Mustafa following the attempt on the life of his son Idris. But against this, the Law has, as I said, been on the stocks for some time now; and without any agreement as yet on the proportion of Kurdish membership, it cannot be said greatly to have advanced the Kurds' position.

Wm
W. J. Jones
for (A. C. D. S. MacRae)

c.c. P. Joy, Esq.,
BEIRUT.

CONFIDENTIAL

PHER CAT/A
PRIORITY BAGHDAD
TELEGRAM NO. 887

CONFIDENTIAL
TO F C O
24 DECEMBER 1970

TOP COPY

CONFIDENTIAL 240920Z

NEQ 11

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY LAW.

THE R.C.C. YESTERDAY ISSUED THE LONG-AWAITED NATIONAL ASSEMBLY LAW TO WHICH THE INTERIM CONSTITUTION OF 16 JULY REFERRED. TEXT FOLLOWS BY BAG.

2. IN BRIEF, IT ALLOWS FOR A 100-MAN CHAMBER WITH A 3-YEAR TERM, THE MEMBERS TO BE SELECTED BY THE R.C.C. "FROM AMONG REPRESENTATIVES OF VARIOUS POPULAR SECTORS: POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL AND FROM PROGRESSIVE, PATRIOTIC AND NATIONALIST ELEMENTS". THE POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE ASSEMBLY WERE DEFINED IN ARTICLES 46-55 OF THE INTERIM CONSTITUTION.

3. THIS IS A FAIRLY SMALL MOUSE TO HAVE EMERGED FROM THE RUMBLINGS WHICH PRECEDED THE ANNOUNCEMENT. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TIMING IS NOT YET CLEAR.

MR. BALFOUR PAUL

DEPARTMENTAL DISTRIBUTION
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BBC B

*Heard
from*

NRQ 1/2

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| RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No. 10 27 JAN 1971 |
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*Mr. Gertjan
Enter.*

2 *VB* *(2)*

B59 IRAQ: TWO MINISTERS DISMISSED

BAGHDAD RADIO HAS BROADCAST A REPUBLICAN DECREE SIGNED BY PRESIDENT AL-BAKR UNDER WHICH ECONOMIC MINISTER FAKHRI YASIN WADDURI AND PLANNING MINISTER JAWAD HASHIM ARE RELIEVED OF THEIR POSTS.

THE DECREE APPOINTS FOREIGN MINISTER ABD AL-KARIM AL-SHAYKHLI ACTING PLANNING MINISTER AND MINISTER OF STATE RASHID AL-RIFAI ACTING ECONOMY MINISTER.

LABOUR AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS MINISTER MURTADA AL-HADITHI IS NAMED AS ACTING ECONOMY MINISTER DURING THE ABSENCE FROM IRAQI OF THE MINISTER OF STATE.

END BBC MON. 2053 25/1 LF (KY)

pages

(3)

Today's Main News And Trends, Cont'd

SYRIA-ALGERIA. Lt-General Hafez Assad of Syria and Col. Houari Boumedienne of Algeria have condemned what they described as attempts to strike down the commando movement. In a joint communique issued at end of a visit to Algeria yesterday by General Assad, the two Arab leaders also declared that "what was taken by force cannot be recovered except by force", thus advocating the military solution for the conflict with Israel. The communique said that after the Syrian side explained Syria's participation in the projected federation with Egypt, Libya and the Sudan, the Algerian side expressed support for this step. They announced that further talks are to be held between the ruling NLF in Algeria and the ruling Baath Party in Syria.

TWO MINISTERS RELIEVED OF CABINET POSTSIs It Sign of Struggle Inside The Regime In Baghdad?

RECEIVED
REGISTRY
- 2 FEB 1971
NEQ 1/2

Iraq

Gurur

A decree issued in Baghdad yesterday by President Ahmed Hassan Al Bakr relieved two Ministers from their Cabinet posts. They were: Dr Fakhry Kaddouri, the Minister of Economy; and Dr Jawad Hashim, the Minister of Planning. No explanation was given. The two Ministers had cooperated with the Baathist regime since it came to power in July, 1968.

Another decree issued by Bakr, who is also the Premier, appointed Dr Abdel Kerim Al Shaikhaly, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, as Acting Minister of Planning; and Dr Rashid Rifai, the Minister of State, as Acting Minister of Economy.

Power Struggle? A Beirut newspaper, pro-UAR AL MOHARRER, which has been campaigning lately against the Baathist regime in Baghdad, claimed in a front-page report that the removal of the two Ministers was "evidence" of an alleged power struggle inside the Iraqi regime. It attributed this to disapproval of certain elements in the regime of Iraq's disengagement from the Eastern Front and withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Jordan.

LAST BID TODAY TO AVERT WORKERS' STRIKE
STRONG LAW AND ORDER MEASURES ADOPTED

Lebanon

A last bid to avert a general workers' strike is to be made today, when trade union representatives will meet with a group representing the businessmen. They will try to solve their differences regarding certain articles in the Health Security Scheme, scheduled to go into effect on February 1st.

The General Confederation of Labour has called for a general strike on February 1st, if its demand for revision of certain provisions in the Scheme would not be carried out before then. Since the businessmen will be shouldering the main part of the cost of the health scheme, they have rejected the workers' demand, and threatened to go on strike themselves if the Government carried out the revision.

Deputy Kamal Jumblat, who is on good terms with both the Government and the workers, yesterday offered his mediation when he called on Premier Saeb Salam, according to AL NAHAR. He was reported to have warned that certain political elements were trying to use the workers' strike for a campaign against the regime of President Franjieh.

Law And Order. The Government yesterday decided on stronger measures to establish law and order, it was announced. The measures were adopted at a meeting of the National Security Council under Premier and Interior Minister Saeb Salam. Special measures will be taken in the northern town of Tripoli, the scene of some recent incidents of lawlessness. One decision provided for the establishment of a special security squad to combat cigarette smugglers and vendors of contraband cigarettes.

pk 3/2

February 28th, 1971

(S) SPECIAL REPORTS

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No. 10
- 2 FEB 1971
NEQ 1/2

IS THE REGIME REALLY IN TROUBLE? HOW TRUE
ARE SPECULATIONS OF IMMINENT CHANGE IN IRAQ

Enter
Mr. Guter has seen
Iraq pub 1/2

Since conditions have been relaxed in Iraq, speculations spread that the regime in Baghdad was in trouble, and that changes were imminent. The rumours were so widely spread that Iraqi Information Minister Chafic Kemali had to deny them, but refused to issue a long statement because, he pointed out, this would only lend more circulation to the speculations. He said that this was not the first time that such rumours spread, and will not be the last.

Earlier this month, Kurdish quarters ridiculed whispering that had been going on in certain political quarters that Egypt and Syria were in touch with Kurdish nationalist leader Mulla Mustafa Barzani urging him to go on the war path again with the aim of bringing down the Baathist regime in Baghdad. Other speculations had said that Persia was making overtures to Barzani with the hope he may turn against the Baghdad Government.

That the Iraqi regime is in a conflict with Cairo and Damascus, and, certainly, with Tehran, is not a secret. The Persian authorities had provided the Kurds in northern Iraq with assistance when they were fighting the Iraqi authorities.

But how far Cairo and the regime of Lt-General Hafez Assad are ready to go in efforts to bring about a change of regimes in Baghdad is not known. However, speculations had it that as part of the Syrian-Egyptian coordination, a plan has been worked out to effect the changes inside Iraq. There is nothing tangible to confirm this plan --other than, perhaps, the psychological campaign by the Egyptian media, and in certain pro-UAR papers in Beirut, against the Baghdad Government.

One Beirut paper in particular has been conducting a systematic campaign to indicate that changes are about to take place in Iraq. AL MOHARRER in several articles during the past week talked of dissatisfaction by "young officers" in the Iraqi Armed Forces regarding policies of their Government, especially the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from the Eastern Front.

Therefore, when a decree issued in Baghdad Monday relieving two Ministers of their Cabinet posts, AL MOHARRER was quick in presenting this as a reflection of what it called the power struggle inside the regime.

AL MOHARRER's campaign may just be in pursuit of Cairo's hostile policy towards Baghdad, but it could also be to set the stage for whatever is expected to happen there. For one thing, the paper did not identify the "young officers" said to be opposed to the regime. This may suggest, though, the rise of a movement inside the armed forces against the Baathists. Reports of unrest among young officers that had served with the Iraqi troops in Jordan are not new. AL AHARAM of Cairo, in reporting the withdrawal of the troops from Jordan, said earlier this month that the troops were stripped of their ammunition before they embarked on their way home. This obviously meant to suggest that the Baghdad Authorities were afraid of an anti-regime movement when the troops arrived in Iraq and if they were left with their ammunition.

It is still remembered that the 1958 coup in Baghdad that ousted the Monarchy, was possible when the troops were brought to Baghdad from the north and issued with ammunition in preparation to having them sent to Jordan.

Those Tipped To Take-Over. The speculations were not quite clear as to the personalities groomed to carry out the changes against the regime. Some talked of a movement from within,

.. حركة من داخل

SPECIAL REPORTS, Cont'dIraq

similar to the Assad movement in Syria last November. But who will do it? The man on whom earlier speculations had centred has already been ousted, and is now living in exile abroad. He is ex-Air Marshal Hardan Abdel Ghaffar, Vice President until deposed in October and barred from Iraq. Will he be trying to make a come-back? If so, with whose assistance?

There is ex-Major General Abdel Ghani Al Rawi, the champion of the right-wing abortive attempt in January last year, and who now lives in exile in Persia. His chances appear to be rather small, if virtually non-existent.

What about the Nasserite officers? Speculations revolve around three: ex-Brigadier General Arif Abdel Razzak; ex-Col. Abdel Kerim Farhan; and ex-Col. Sobhi Abdel Hamid. It will be recalled that Abdel Razzak had carried out two abortive coups, one against the late President Abdel Salam Aref, and the second against his brother, Abdel Rahman Aref. Farhan and Abdel Hamid served under Abdel Salam in 1964, when the Nasserite influence in Iraq was at its peak. All three were reported to be living in exile in Cairo --but recent reports from Baghdad said that the Baathist regime offered to have them return home. This was part of the relaxation measures. It is not known whether they have accepted the offer or not.

Inside the Regime. The Baathists are believed to be much too strong to be swept out of office by a single non-Baathist political force in Iraq. They have established control over the key positions inside the Armed Forces, and since seizing power in July, 1968, they appeared to have succeeded in breaking up the military blocs that existed inside the Army.

Members of the Revolutionary Command Council are mostly the leaders of the Baath Party, and the officers there are known to be part of the inner circle of the regime. Sidam Hussein Takriti is still very much the strong-man, exercising his powers through his posts as Assistant Secretary General of the National (Iraqi) Command of the Baath Party and Deputy Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council --after President Ahmed Hassan Al Bakr.

Speculations in the anti-Baghdad press have been saying Sidam is unpopular among the Army officers. On the other hand, the regime has been going out of its way to keep the armed forces happy by providing the officers with all possible facilities and privileges.

At the general political level, the regime has been stumbling. Its efforts to establish a national front have not materialized, nor have those for establishment of the promised National Council, or parliament.

Last week, the Iraqi Communist Party issued a strong statement accusing the regime of renewing arrest of Communists. There has yet been no comment on the charge from the Iraqi Government.

The regime is paying special attention to the workers --and recent labour rallies were sponsored by President Bakr personally. Speeches delivered at the rallies, and broadcast by RADIO BAGHDAD, urged workers to protect the revolution "because it is our revolution."

The violence the regime had used in dealing with its enemies, appeared to have discouraged actions by hostile elements. Baghdad's AL THAWRA Tuesday, commenting on the coup in Uganda, pointed out that the reason the coup was possible was because President Obote had not, while in power, resorted to "revolutionary violence" in dealing with enemies of the revolution. Such violence, it pointed out, is necessary if revolutionary governments are to survive against imperialist conspiracies.

RESTRICTED



BRITISH EMBASSY

BAGHDAD

30 January 1971

1/3

Miss V E Beckett
Near Eastern Department
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London SW1

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| RECEIVED |
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| -4 FEB 1971 |
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Dear Veronica,

MINISTERIAL CHANGES

1. A Republican Decree published on 25 January announced the dismissal of Dr Fakhri Qadduri, Minister of Economy, and Dr Jawad Hashim, Minister of Planning. Abdul Karim al Shaikhli, Foreign Minister, has been appointed acting Minister of Planning and Dr Rashid al Rifa'ie, Minister of State, has been appointed acting Minister of Economy.

2. It had been rumoured for some time that one or both of these Ministers had resigned; Fakhri Qadduri has not, as far as we know, yet returned from a trip he made to West Germany in the autumn (his wife is German). No one in Baghdad seems to be able to give a specific reason for these dismissals, least of all Government officials whom we have asked.

3. It is also rumoured that Amin Abdul Karim will shortly resign as Minister of Finance; This might possibly add up to an indication of a dispute within the Government over economic policy, particularly over recent moves to give greater scope to the private sector.

Yours,
Christopher (MacRae)
for
M K Jenner

copied to:

P Joy, Beirut.

RESTRICTED

5

R.E. 4/2.

Mr Evans

§ 3 of some
-light interest

J. G. G.

Mr. G. G.

4/2

pk 1/2

① Miss Beckett
② Oie Dept

*I assume Raik
remains Foreign Minister.*

R.E.

4/2

Yeo. 18

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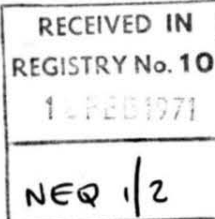
BRITISH EMBASSY

BAGHDAD

13 February 1971

1/3

Miss V E Beckett
Near Eastern Department
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London SW1



Mr. Gentry 2 18/1 ✓
Given the indications of
Iraq politics I think Mr.
MacRae is right about to
achieve crystal gazing.
Beckett 18/2

Dear Veronica,

INTERNAL CHANGES IN IRAQ?

1. You are, no doubt, expecting a penetrating commentary on the article on pp 11-12 of the Arab World for 28 January.

(4) 2. But I am afraid that I am not going to rise to this tasty bait. It tends to be much easier - but futile - to comment on the Beirut press's psychedelic accounts of what happens here than on the scene itself.

3. All I shall add is that:

(a) We still doubt if there is any significance in terms of the civilian-versus-soldiers struggle in the resignations of Dr Jawad Hashim and Dr Qadduri (see Jenner's letter 1/3 of 30 Jan.). Maybe it was a matter of personalities; maybe part of the continuing tug of war between the pragmatists and the doctrinaires about the way in which the economy should be run; we still do not know. (5)

(b) As to the statement of the Iraq Communist Party (which you probably saw mentioned earlier on in Le Monde or the Arab World), it was, of course, published in Beirut and has never appeared inside Iraq at all: so I doubt if the régime did feel obliged to repost. Rather, they gave the impression of having won comfortably over the question of the Trade Union elections - and of knowing it.

(c) Certainly there have been plenty of rumours in Baghdad lately of imminent changes. ^{on} There always are. But, in fact, the present team continue to put at least a brave outward show of unity.

(d) None of the pretenders mentioned in the article, with the exception of Hardam, seem to me particularly likely runners. As for Al Rawi, even the Iranian Chargé here seemed rather embarrassed (when I taxed him) that his Government had trundled out one so patently unhinged to deliver the propaganda onslaught on the Iraqi régime on 8 January.

cc P. Joy, Beirut
Chcy, Kuwait
Chcy, Tehran

Yours,
Christopher

pak
14/2

A C D S MacRae

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RECEIVED IN
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19 FEB 1971

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Mr. Gantner to see
Enter 14

(7)

B77 IRAQI RESHUFFLE EXPECTED: MENA

MON.SVCE.NOTE.: FOR INFORMATION ONLY: NOT TO BE ATTRIBUTED TO MENA

(MIDDLE EAST NEWS AGENCY) BEIRUT-BAGHDAD REPORTS SAY A MINISTERIAL RESHUFFLE IS EXPECTED TO TAKE PLACE IN IRAQ IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS. IT WILL INCLUDE THE APPOINTMENT OF A NEW PREMIER. REPORTS ALSO INDICATE THERE IS NO DEFINITE CHOICE YET OF A NEW PREMIER, BUT VICE-PRESIDENT LT.-GEN. SALIM MAHDI AMMASH AND FOREIGN MINISTER ABD AL-KARIM AL-SHAYKHLI ARE LIKELY CANDIDATES.

THE REPORTS SAY THE FORMATION OF THE NEW NATIONAL COUNCIL WILL BE ANNOUNCED IN A FEW DAYS AND THAT THE MEMBERS OF THIS COUNCIL WILL BE APPOINTED BY THE IRAQI REVOLUTION COMMAND COUNCIL.

END BBC MON 17/2 LSE 2246 (KY)

plh

February 19th, 1971

(OFFICIAL REPORTS)

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8

IRAQ'S "NATIONAL COUNCIL" IN THE MAKING
A "Rubber Stamp" Or Will It Amount To Something

Council
Iraq

Barring unforeseen circumstances, the promised Iraqi parliament, "The National Council", will come into being within the next week or two. Reliable information from Baghdad has said that at most of the 100 members of the Council, have been selected by the Revolutionary Command Council. A disagreement earlier on the number of Kurds in the Council was said to have been sorted out following meetings between Baath Party representatives and officials of the Kurdish Democratic Party of Mulla Mustafa Barzani. However, how many Kurds will finally be appointed is still not known.

The reports said that the regime has finally managed to solve the problem of communist representation in the projected House. The Baath Party's efforts earlier to persuade the Communist Party to join the National Council produced no positive results, as the Party claimed that the regime was still suppressing and arresting communists.

The communist representatives are now expected to be chosen from the trade unions, instead of from the Party itself --unless the Party's Central Committee would agree to cooperate. Communist trade unionists, the information added, were ready to play along, which prompted some to conclude that the present talk of a sharp conflict between the communists and the ruling Baathists is somewhat exaggerated.

The regime is putting more emphasis on representation of "popular organizations and trade unions" in the National Council, than on "progressive" political parties and groups. The law for establishment of the Council, issued late in December, stated that members of the Council will be selected from the various sectors of the people "the social, trade union and syndicate organizations-- and from the national progressive elements."

The stress on trade unions and popular organizations is meant in part to avoid confining the regime to choosing representatives of this or that political grouping --Nasserites, independents and socialists etc. The regime appears ready to recognize only two parties, other than the Baath Party: the Communist Party and the Kurdish Democratic Party.

After the Communist Party's Central Committee rejected the Baathist plan for a national front, because of the stipulation that it should be under Baath Party leadership, the regime shifted the emphasis to the "Baathist-KDP" alliance. It is to be noted however that the regime, though still officially bans political parties, did not insist that the Communist Party ought to dissolve itself. Also, the Communist Party, despite its criticism of the regime and protests against reported arrests, has not been calling for the overthrow of the regime.

Not improving
Main Elements. Therefore, the speculation is that the proposed National Council will be primarily dominated by the Baathists, with the KDP and the communists constituting the two other single forces.

The information from Baghdad pointed out that the Communist Party is coming around to the view that Communists would do better in accepting representation in the House, from where they can speak out and air their views and demands.

Because of the current strain in relations between Cairo and Baghdad, the regime has been reluctant to offer cooperation with the Nasserites, although speculations do not rule out the possibility that pro-UAR elements will have a certain degree of representation in the Council.

pk

SPECIAL REPORTS, Cont'dCouncil, Iraq

"Rubber Stamp?" That more than half of members of the Council will be Baathist is taken for granted. That, plus the RCC controls written into the National Council Law, would make it fairly easy for the regime to deal with the parliament.

First of all, the members of the Council will be selected by the Revolutionary Council, formed mainly of members of the National (Iraqi) Command of the Baath Party. Article 51 of the Provisional constitution defining the duties of the legislature, allowed the RCC a certain veto power over action by the House.

Unlike the Syrian "People's Council", established Tuesday, Iraq's legislature has not been entrusted with laying down a permanent constitution for the country -- because such a prerogative apparently remains in the hands of the RCC.

On the other hand, non-Baathist groups could exercise a certain degree of opposition within the National Council if they will join hands. The Council, furthermore, could become a forum for the expression of non-Baathist views on national, Arab and international issues.

Whether the Council will serve its promised three-year term apparently will depend on how tolerant the regime could be of criticism. Thus far, tolerance has not been part of the character of the regime.

But the fact that any kind of parliament is being established in Iraq is an important development towards somekind of applicable democracy. In fact, when established, the Council will be the first parliament Iraq has had since the Monarchy was overthrown in 1958.

Relaxation. The promised legislature, it will be recalled, is part of the new measures adopted by the Baathist regime, which came to power in July, 1968, during the past three months. Reports from Baghdad have said that the regime is continuing with the policy of relaxation at home, and is seeking better relations with the outside world.

Improvement of Iraqi-Lebanese relations, as expressed in the current state visit to Baghdad by a delegation under Premier Saeb Salam, is seen as part of the Iraqi Government's new policy, which certain Iraqi officials would like to call "open door policy" in the trend that has now been set by the regime of Lt-General Hafez Assad in Syria.

According to reliable sources, the Iraqi regime is genuinely and seriously seeking to improve relations with the neighbouring Persian Government. Press reports from Teheran last week noted that Iraqi Oil Minister, Dr Saadoun Hammadi, insisted on sitting by the Iranian Finance Minister Dr Amouzegar when they signed the price settlement agreement with the oil companies.

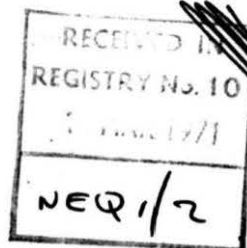
Further contacts between Teheran and Baghdad are expected soon, and may culminate with exchange of ambassadors. It will be recalled that Iraq in January last year declared the Iranian Ambassador persona non grata after Teheran was accused of sponsoring a plot to overthrow the Baathists in Baghdad. The Iranian government retaliated by doing the same thing to the Iraqi Ambassador in Teheran. These actions, however, fell short of complete break of diplomatic relations.

The thorny problem remains in finding a settlement of the conflict on navigation in Shatt Al Arab, the waterway forming part of the border between the two countries. Iraq shortly after Teheran unilaterally abrogated the navigation agreement on Shatt Al Arab in 1969, proposed that the matter be brought before the International Court at The Hague, but the Iranian Government turned down the offer. The feeling in Baghdad and Teheran is believed now that the navigation problem could be solved within the improved atmosphere between them.

PRIORITY
EN CLAIR

FM BAGHDAD 170930Z

UNCLASSIFIED



TO PRIORITY FCO TELNO. 312 OF 17 MARCH 1971. AND INFO ROUTINE
TO BAHRAIN RESIDENCY, KUWAIT, AMMAN. SAVING TO: TEHRAN, TRIPOLI
WASHINGTON, PARIS, BIERUT AND CAIRO.

1. THE IRAQI PRESS CARRIED YESTERDAY A LENGTHY POLICY STATEMENT
BY VICE PRESIDENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMAND COUNCIL, SADDAM
HUSSAIN, BASED ON AN INTERVIEW GIVEN TO AL DESTOUR OF BEIRUT
APPARENTLY PUBLISHED THE PREVIOUS DAY. THE MAIN POINTS ARE AS
FOLLOWS.

2. ARAB/KURDISH RELATIONS.

SELF-RULE FOR THE KURDISH AREA, PROMISED BY THE MARCH 11
MANIFESTO (WHOSE ANNIVERSARY HAS JUST BEEN CELEBRATED) DOES
NOT IMPLY SURRENDER OF SOVEREIGNTY BY THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.
INDEED, THE LATTER'S READINESS TO GRANT A SECTION OF THE PEOPLE
SPECIAL NATIONAL RIGHTS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF A SINGLE STATE
ACCENTUATES THE UNITY OF IRAQ RATHER THAN THE REVERSE. QUESTIONED
ON THE RELATIONSHIP OF KIRKUK TO THE KURDISH ZONE, SADDAM WAS
CONSPICUOUSLY EVASIVE, SAYING THAT THE SELF-RULE FORMULA WAS
''' CONFERRED NOT UPON LAND BUT UPON PEOPLE ''' , AND THAT KIRKUK
WAS AS MUCH A PART OF IRAQ AS BAGHDAD OR ERBIL : , AND HE
OBLIQUELY SUGGESTED THAT SOME DISTRICTS OF THE KIRKUK GOVERNORATE
MIGHT BELONG TO THE KURDS AND SOME NOT.

ON THE FAILURE SO FAR TO APPOINT A KURDISH VICE PRESIDENT,
SADDAM SAID THIS WAS UP TO THE KURDS : THE BA'ATH FOR THEIR PART
HAD ASKED THE KURDS TO NOMINATE WHOMEVER THEY WISHED. HE
DESCRIBED RELATIONS WITH MULLA MUSTAFA AS NORMAL: THE MULLA WAS
NEITHER A FOREIGNER NOR A PERSON OF INDEPENDENT STATUS BUT AN
IRAQI CITIZEN, CHAIRMAN OF THE KDP AND '' ONE OF OUR BROTHERS'' .
IMPERIALISM, HE ADDED FINALLY, WAS PLANNING TO TORPEDO THE
MARCH 11 AGREEMENT, AS KURDISH CHAUVINISTS MIGHT FIND TO THEIR COST.

3. NATIONAL FRONT.

SPEAKING OF THE FAILURE OF THE TWO-YEAR OLD DIALOGUE OVER THE
FORMATION OF A NATIONAL FRONT SADDAM REMARKED THAT THE
CONDITIONS PUT FORWARD BY THE BA'ATH WERE NOT IMPOSSIBLE : THEY
WERE NO MORE THAN SAFEGUARDS FOR THE REAL SUBSTANCE OF THE FRONT
AND OF THE REVOLUTION, WHICH THE PARTY WAS DETERMINED TO /MAINTAIN

MAINTAIN WHILE SEEKING TO AVOID ANY PARTING OF THE WAYS WITH
" OTHER NATIONAL QUARTERS". BUT THE INTENTIONS OF THE " OTHER
SIDE " (BY WHICH HE MUST MAINLY HAVE BEEN REFERRING TO THE
COMMUNIST PARTY) DID NOT SEEM TO HAVE TAKEN A SETTLED SHAPE.

4. INTERNAL POLITICS

SADDAM DENIED THAT THERE WAS ANY INTENTION OF AMENDING THE
CONSTITUTION, PARTICULARLY AS REGARDS THE PRESIDENTIAL SYSTEM.
THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY WOULD CERTAINLY BE SET -UP BEFORE LONG:
THE BA'ATH HAD ALREADY DRAWN UP A LIST OF NAMES
OF PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL ELEMENTS, PARTY MEMBERS AND REPRESENTATIVES

OF EXISTING POPULAR ORGANISATIONS AND WERE NOW AWAITING A LIST FROM
THE KURDS. THE COMMUNIST PARTY COULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY EXCEPT AFTER IT HAD ACCEPTED THE NATIONAL
FRONT FORMULA. AS TO RUMOURS OF CABINET RESHUFFLES, THESE WERE
MERELY PROMOTED BY ENEMIES OF THE REGIME. THERE WAS NOTHING NEW
ABOUT CABINET RESHUFFLES; THERE WERE OF COURSE VACANCIES IN THE
CABINET WHICH NATURALLY HAD TO BE FILLED.

5. ARAB/ISRAEL

AFTER THE STANDARD ATTACK ON THE ROGERS' PLAN, SADDAM COMMENTED
ON THE FATE OF THE EASTERN FRONT. NOW THAT IT HAD BEEN JUDGED
(BY OTHERS) THAT MATTERS COULD BE SOLVED THROUGH DIRECT NEGOT-
IATIONS AND RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL, THERE WAS NO LONGER ANY RAISON
D'ETRE FOR THE EASTERN COMMAND. DESPITE IRAQ'S OPPOSITION IT
HAD BEEN REJECTED BY " THE BROTHERS CONCERNED". MEANWHILE,
THE ARAB RESISTANCE MOVEMENT, A " SPOILT CHILD", HAD GROWN
FLABBY AND HAD LARGELY LOST THE INCLINATION TO ARMED STRUGGLE
WHICH REQUIRED ENDURANCE AND PERSEVERENCE. THE PALESTINIANS
MUST REALISE THAT, AS THINGS WERE, NO ARAB REGIME COULD POSSIBLY
OFFER DIRECT (SC. MILITARY) ASSISTANCE, NOR COULD THE
PALESTINIANS COUNT ON UNANIMOUS SUPPORT FROM ALL ARAB REGIMES.
IRAQ, HOWEVER, STOOD FOR THE FORMATION OF A GENUINE ARAB FRONT
AGAINST ZIONISM OPPOSED TO CAPITULATIONIST SOLUTIONS.

6. SEE M I F T. (10)

FCO PASS SAVING TO TEHRAN, TRIPOLI, WASHINGTON, PARIS, BEIRUT AND CAIRO.
BALFOUR PAUL

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

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TO PRIORITY FCO TELNO 313 OF 17 MARCH 1971 AND R F I ROUTINE TO
BAHRAIN RESIDENCY, KUWAIT, AMMAN. SAVING TO : TEHRAN, TRIPOLI
WASHINGTON, PARIS, BEIRUT AND CAIRO

1. M I P T. ⁹

SADDAM'S STATEMENT FOLLOWS ANOTHER INTERESTING PRONOUNCEMENT BY
HIM PUBLISHED IN THE WEEKLY ALEF BA AND REPUBLISHED ON 12 MARCH IN
THE GOVERNMENT DAILIES (TEXT SENT BY BAG) OF WHICH THE CENTRAL
PASSAGE CONCERNS RELATIONS WITH THE COMMUNISTS.

2. THE BA'ATH GOVERNMENT, HE DECLARED, WOULD NOT ACCEPT
DICTATION OR INFRINGEMENT OF ITS SOVEREIGNTY Y AND FOREIGN(IN
THIS CONTEXT COMMUNIST) POWER HOWEVER GREAT, NOR WOULD THEY
TRUCKLE WITH THE LOCAL COMMUNIST PARTY UNLESS IT MENDED ITS
CROOKED WAYS. MY SOVIET COLLEAGUE IS SAID TO HAVE TAKEN UMBRAGE.

3. MY READING OF THESE SUDDEN PRONOUNCEMENTS BY SADDAM, WHO HAS
BEEN OUT OF THE PUBLIC EYE FOR SOME TIME, IS THAT THEY REPRESENT
A REAFFIRMATION OF THE BA'ATH'S DETERMINATION NOT TO BE PUSHED
AROUND BY ANYONE WHOMSOEVER - KURDS, PALESTINIANS, COMMUNISTS,
RUSSIANS, INTERNAL PARTY DEVIATIONISTS OR, OF COURSE, IMPERIALISTS.
HIS MESSAGE SEEMS TO BE THAT THE PARTY IS FIRMLY IN THE SADDLE IN
IRAQ (AND SADDAM FIRMLY IN THE SADDLE IN THE PARTY).

4. THEIR TIMING MAY WELL HAVE BEEN RELATED TO THE COMPLETION
OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF IRAQI FORCES FROM JORDAN AND IF THERE IS
SUBSTANCE IN THE RUMOUR OF DISAFFECTION IN SOME OF THE UNITS
CONCERNED (SEE MY TEL NO 299), THE PURPOSE OF THE UNUSUAL PARTY

/ASSEMBLY

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ASSEMBLY ON 15 MARCH ATTENDED BY LARGE NUMBERS OF SENIOR OFFICERS,
MAY HAVE BEEN TO ISSUE A COMPARABLE WARNING TO THE ARMED FORCES
THAT THE PARTY WOULD STAND NO NONSENSE FROM THEM EITHER.

FCO PASS SAVING TO TEHRAN, TRIPOLI, WASHINGTON, PARIS ,BEIRUT
AND CAIRO.

BALFOUR PAUL

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British Embassy
BAGHDAD

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13 March 1971

Miss V E Beckett
Near Eastern Department
F C O

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Dear Veronica,

CABINET CHANGES

1. I notice that I have failed to report the mouse which emerged from the mountainous rumours I mentioned in my letter of 13 February.
2. In fact, on 2 March it was announced that Dr. Rashid al Rifa'i had been appointed Minister of Planning; and that Taha al Jazrawi, the Minister of Industry would become acting Minister of Economy.
3. You will find them both mentioned in our current Leading Personality Report. Dr. al Rifa'i, was, as you will see, trained at post graduate level in Britain and seems fairly well disposed towards us. Presumably further changes are in the offing and Jazrawi will only hold his acting portfolio for a short while.
4. So far, these moves do not give us much in the way of clues about government thinking over the handling of the economy; on the contrary, we have the impression (based admittedly, on very little evidence), that the debate within the Party still continues.

Yours,

Christopher

A C D S MacRae

copied to:

P Joy Esq British Embassy Beirut
Chanceries at Kuwait and Tehran

Mr. Genta
Pm 15 23/13

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BY BAG
FM BAGHDAD
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SAVING TELEGRAM

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Addressed to FCO telno SAVING 2 of 22 March r.f.i. (saving)
Bahrain Residency, Kuwait, Amman, Tehran, Tripoli, Washington,
Paris, Beirut, Cairo, Addis Ababa.

1. Saddam Hussein has now made a further contribution to the series of policy statements summarised in my tels Nos 312 and 313. This one was addressed to fifteen hundred "Arab and Iraqi" students as part of an Arab Students Week. (9) (10)

2. He went over much of the same ground but the following new points may be worth recording:-

- a. He issued a warning to the armed forces that there can only be one (civilian) leadership for all organs of the State; the role of the armed forces is to back-up this civilian leadership and there must be no "polarisation within the Revolution". This passage may also have been inspired by rumoured disaffection in the army (paragraph 4 of my tel No. 313). Or it may have been specifically intended to remind power-seeking generals of what happened to Harden Tikriti.
- b. He launched an attack on the Quadri-partite Arab Union, alleging that it had been founded for the purpose of recognising Israel - "a most outrageous crime" which the Arab masses (to which he appeared to be appealing over the heads of their governments) must reject, along with the quadripartite union itself.
- c. He revived the propaganda war against Iran, describing the latter's ambitions in the Shatt al Arab as a humiliation for the Revolution and a first step towards gaining control of the whole Arab Gulf.
- d. He attacked "referendum formulas" in the Arab Gulf, describing them rather oddly as a serious precedent and a major retreat along the road of capitulation.
- e. He admitted that Iraq provided arms, funds and information services to the Eritrean resistance movement.

Balfour Paul

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Iraq—growing realism among the revolutionaries



MICHAEL FIELD

Circumstances have combined to give Iraq a bad press. Few journalists are encouraged to visit the country, while the government news releases are often deliberately misleading, and what reports do reach the West generally originate in the Kuwaiti or Egyptian press, neither of which view Iraq in a very favourable light. This alone makes it difficult to gain a balanced picture of Iraqi politics, and helps explain the discrepancy between the favourable views of expatriates in Baghdad and the open ridicule of observers outside. When, in addition, incidents like the display of bodies in Tahir Square during 1969, stick in the public imagination, Iraq is left with a reputation for instability and barbarity.

But at the same time the Ba'athists, with a complete lack of flair for public relations, have themselves done much to blacken their own image. Behind all Iraqi policy lies a single obsession, the first stage in the development of the bad image; the Ba'athists are paranoid and terrified of being overthrown in yet another of Iraq's peculiarly bloody *coups d'etats*. A short stay in Baghdad makes this very evident. Since 1968 buildings around all the main ministries have been demolished, leaving a desolate area of rubble and a clear field of fire for besieged troops; the President moves through the capital with an escort of tanks; and for a quarter of a mile around Hassan al Bakr's palace the streets are noticeably empty of traffic. Drivers explain that it is not exactly dangerous to drive near the palace, but, even so, it gives them a "nasty feeling".

Such a sense of insecurity leaves the Ba'athists with a strong desire for public support, which they believe

is best gained from appearing to be the most patriotic and uncompromising of Arab governments. In fact, pronouncements made on these lines not only offend other regimes, but help promote political cynicism at home.

It used to be whispered in the cafes of Baghdad that what Iraq needed was a Gamal Abdul Nasser, and now one hears talk of the good old days of Nuri Said and the British.

In a situation where the tone of Government statements corresponds to the Revolutionary Command Council's feeling of security or otherwise at any given moment there are bound to be wild fluctuations in the political climate, as was shown by the events of last summer.

In August, at the time of the American peace initiative, there was evidently a power struggle in progress inside the RCC, although it is not clear who composed the rebellious faction on that occasion. In this moment of danger the consensus of party opinion swung instinctively towards a strong line and outright rejection of any negotiations, in the hope that the initiative would collapse and Nasser would be left stranded as the man who compromised and failed. For the next two weeks the Ba'athists backed their stand with noisy support for the guerilla's similar policy. But, by the beginning of September the climate in the Command Council was calmer and President Hassan al Bakr, backed by the prevailing moderate opinion of the Cabinet and feeling secure at home, executed a remarkable *volte face* and denounced all guerilla hijackings, "without exception".

However, it was not long before the Jordanian war made the Ba'athists acutely embarrassed when they fol-

lowed their original promises to the guerillas with total inactivity. To save face at home, a scapegoat had to be found, and the civilian wing of the RCC, who had supported intervention in the conflict, pressured the Council into sacking Vice-President Hardan Takriti at the end of October.

It seems that the ups and downs of the RCC (the latest rumour is that General Ammash has been dismissed) have little significance as guide lines for the long term direction of Iraqi foreign or internal policy. Rather they reflect the internecine feuding and the degree of confidence felt by a body of men whose allegiances change as and when it suits them with little regard for political principles or doctrine.

This is a strange approach to politics, although it does have a sinister logic of its own. Its effects on world opinion are obvious. Obsessions with security and the fanatical tone of government announcements, have created a reputation for irresponsible words and little action. Add to this the regular upheavals in the RCC creating an impression of acute instability, and a very bad image is complete.

A foreign diplomat in Baghdad put his finger on the pattern of Iraqi politics last summer when he remarked that "the Ba'athists make themselves out to be much worse than they really are".

His point is worth bearing in mind because it distinguishes between Ba'athist politics, and government policies which are much more constructive. European expatriates of the business and diplomatic communities are quick to point out that the Ba'athists can be credited with some considerable achievements. They fully endorse the words of the former president of the Iraqi military court: "I don't just cut heads, I cut problems".

The "good old days" of Nuri Said

First Iraq enjoys a degree of internal stability unknown since the pre-revolutionary days of Nuri Said. During the Ba'athist's less paranoid phases the lack of tension in Baghdad is striking—Iraqis display an openness and interest in foreigners, particularly the British of the "good old days". The gang warfare of the Shia/minori-

ties/Communists against the Sunni/Pan-Arabs which characterised the rule of Qasim and Abdul Salem Arif has disappeared completely; and opposition groups—the two factions of the Iraqi Communist Party, the Arab Socialist Movement, the Independent Democrats, and the National Democratic Party—have largely gone underground. Most young people feel that dabbling in any non-Ba'athist politics is simply not worth the risk.

Encouraging as this may be, one cannot help being aware that such stability stems from rather negative sources. Large numbers of Iraqis have become totally disillusioned with politics. The government's security measures, including arbitrary imprisonment and the hanging of "spies", must mean that many cannot sleep safe in their beds at night, although the recent release of substantial numbers of prisoners, including Dr Bazzaz, may have allayed their fears for a time.¹ Iraq can hardly be described as a happy country, even if it is relatively stable, but as foreign residents put it, the people have become "disciplined", and this is a pre-requisite for progress.

At the same time Ba'athist dealings with the Iraqi Petroleum Company have been more realistic than those of previous revolutionary governments, and there is little doubt that the government and Company were bound more firmly together by the Kurdish attack on the Kirkuk process plant in March 1969. This is not saying much when it is remembered that the quarrels between earlier regimes and IPC led to Iraq's oil production falling steadily further behind that of her neighbours throughout the 1960s. But even so Ba'athist relations with IPC are now much better than those prevailing between operators and governments in Libya and Algeria. Moreover Iraq has been less militant than some in pressing for immediate implementation of the recent OPEC resolutions. Since the posted price of crude oil exported from Tripoli and Banias was raised last October, Iraq has been receiving increased revenues which will run to £16.4m in the full year.² In view of the OPEC decisions it seems inevitable that she will also get

the 55 per cent revenue on company profits, and the extra nine cents per barrel on crude exported via FAO, demanded by the Minister of Oil and Minerals, Saadoun Hamadi, in November.

The "disciplining" process and improved relations with IPC certainly reflect credit on Ba'athist rule, but far more significant for Iraq's future is the peace signed with the Kurds on March 11, 1970.

Reports coming out of Iraq via Beirut have tended to stress those elements of the agreement which have not been put into operation, but these may not be too important because in both Baghdad and Kurdistan one notices an obvious mood of optimism and compromise. In part this may stem from the realisation on both sides that the 1969/70 period of hostilities was more costly than any previous round of the conflict; but nevertheless each party can point to large sections of the agreement which are now working very well.

Since March five Kurdish ministers have been appointed to the government in Baghdad. None are members of the RCC, but at the same time they are mostly ardent Kurdish nationalists, not the ideal Iraqi choice, and their number includes a former Barzani envoy in Tehran as the Minister of Health.

Secondly, the Kurdish Democratic Party, organised in five branches at Mosul, Erbil, Kirkuk, Sulaimaniya, and Baghdad, has become Iraq's second legal political party, and the Ba'athists' ally in government; while publication of the Kurdish language daily, *al-Taakhi* (*Brotherhood*), and the most readable and moderate of the Iraqi newspapers, was resumed in Baghdad on May 9.

Mercenaries, from anti-Barzani tribes, employed by the Iraqi government during the war, have been disbanded; and in return Barzani has granted Jalal Talabani and Ibrahim Ahmed an amnesty. The two had been involved in making an agreement with the Iraqis without Barzani's consent.

Finally reconstruction work is being carried out in the north by companies of Iraqi engineers, engaged at present in bridge building and road repairs. At the end of December the Iraqi News Agency announced that work was being intensified with programmes for model villages, health centres and schools. The Iraqi government has

asked the World Food Programme and the Gulbenkian Fund for help with the project's estimated cost of ID10m.

Why the Kurdish treaty is so important

On the debit side there are elements of the March agreement which seem to have been ignored but should now be in operation. The Kurds understood that by the winter the Iraqi army was to have withdrawn more of its troops than it has done so far. Similarly it was agreed that the Pesh Mergas would be paid ID15 per month, while in practice they are only receiving ID8. A Kurdish vice-president, possibly Dr Mahmoud Osman, Secretary of the KDP, should have been appointed; and Hussain Akrawi, who was supposed to become commander of the 2nd Division in Mosul, refused to take up his command after being posted to the unformed 10th Division in Jordan.

In addition to the two categories of "successes" and "failures" there are further elements of the peace proposals, generally composed of the thornier problems, which one cannot expect to be solved for several months or even years.

They include the touchy question of Kirkuk where a census was due to be held on October 26. This was postponed—ostensibly because Baghdad suspected that large numbers of Kurds had been migrating into the town, but more probably because Iraq had been temporarily paralysed by one of the periodic upheavals in the Ba'ath Party which on this occasion culminated in the sacking of Takriti.

There is also the problem of the Pesh Mergas' weapons. Sometime the Kurds will have to hand over all their heavier arms, and although it is not in the agreement, the Kurdish leaders hope that in time those Pesh Mergas living in towns will surrender their small arms also to the care of the KDP.

It is unlikely that much progress will be made on the weapons issue until the formation of a Kurdish frontier guard/police force, 6000 strong, which it was agreed should supplement Barzani's personal bodyguard of 5000. At the same time there are large numbers of unemployed (and underpaid) Pesh Mergas, drifting

¹ Dr Bazzaz has been released according to reliable sources, including *The Times*—AFP and Arab Report and Record.

² Iraq's revenue from IPC in 1969 was exactly £200m.

among the towns and villages of Kurdistan, half hoping that a further outbreak of hostilities will give them something to do. Unless the reconstruction programme gives them employment, and the police force is formed fairly soon, these men will become an embarrassment to peace seekers in both camps.

On the part of the Iraqis there will have to be further troop withdrawals in the coming months. So far the army, with the exception of the engineers, has withdrawn from the mountain areas, which are now in effect independent. But although a few units have been moved further south, there are still two divisions very much in evidence in Mosul and Kirkuk, with detachments at the foot of the mountains acting as a sort of frontier guard.

Both Dr Mahmoud Osman and Barzani go out of their way to stress that they are not especially concerned about the lack of progress on these issues to date. The Treaty stipulated that a start to implementing the agreement was to be made immediately, but that a three year period was to be allowed for the fulfillment of all its provisions. Fortnightly meetings are being held between the Ba'athists and the KDP, and, as Barzani says, a good peace cannot be made in a day, and neither side will weaken its military position until some degree of mutual trust has developed.

Of course all could be wrecked by radical political changes in Baghdad or Kurdistan, which have usually heralded renewed fighting in the past. In Baghdad's case all that can be said is that Hassan al Bakr's and his friends' security consciousness seems to have ruled out any chance of a successful *coup* from outside the Party for the moment.

In Kurdistan the position is less clear. Barzani is old, and to the disgust of his followers he says he would like to retire. (The Pesh Mergas' reply is that he should wait for retirement with Allah). His most obvious successor at first sight appears to be Dr Mahmoud Osman, whose views are more compromising than those of the military. But Kurdistan remains a military society, and the majority of Pesh Mergas would prefer a military successor. Either way, with the memory of the devastation of war still fresh, it seems that the Kurds will think long and hard before they fight again.

As has often been pointed out, internal peace gives Iraq an opportunity to turn its attention to matters of foreign policy, and the Kurdish treaty is regarded as so important in Baghdad that there is every reason to suppose that this is true. During the summer the Ba'athists were trying hard to undermine Nasser's leadership of the Arab world, but since the Egyptian President's death they have followed other Arab countries in becoming more inward looking. Their present preoccupation is with the Gulf, and their quarrel with Iran, which is really an offshoot of their southern ambitions.

New look in Foreign policy

Certainly long term Ba'athist aims are subversive, and writers have sought and stressed links between Baghdad and embryonic opposition groups in the sheikhdoms. But in the short term their policies are practical, and friendly enough.

Iraqi ministers, particularly the bluff Hardan Takriti while he was still vice-president, have been paying frequent visits to the sheikhdoms, although so far only Sheikh Saqr of Ras al Khaimah has been persuaded to make a return trip to Baghdad. At the same time trade missions are being set up in Bahrain, Qatar, and Abu Dhabi, and the Rafidan Bank has opened a branch in Manama. Eventually these "pieds a terre" in the area should pay dividends by providing links with any subversive movements which emerge (although revolutionary prospects in Qatar and Abu Dhabi do not look very encouraging at present). But their more immediate value is as a counter to the frequent Iranian visits to the area, and the economic penetration of the Saderat and Melli Banks. If Iraq's friendship prevents the islands of Abu Musa and the Tumbs from being handed over to Iran, Baghdad will feel that the initial stages of its policy have been amply rewarded.

Later it is hoped that some bright young officer in a local defence force will stage a *coup*, and be sufficiently impressed with his big brothers in Iraq to call for their help. The final stages of this theory naturally lie well in the future, as at present there are virtually no signs of subversion

outside Kuwait, Bahrain and Oman; and the local defence forces will continue to be largely British officered even after our withdrawal. So in effect Iraqi policy at the moment has to be no more hostile (and a good deal less patronising) than that of the Iranians.

Iraq's softer approach to Gulf politics is bringing her closer to the British. Last September President Hassan al Bakr entertained Sir William Luce as a state guest during the later stages of his fact finding mission, (though the government paper, *Jumhuriya*, was of course instructed to say that Britain's envoy had gone to Beirut).

The improvement in Anglo-Iraqi relations since the Ba'athists came to power has led to a myth, current throughout the Middle East, that Britain and the RCC are working hand in hand—or, as the Arabs would say "are two men in one pair of pants". This is not true, although a series of strange coincidences lend weight to the theory; but certainly the British have become one of Iraq's closer friends among the great powers. Britain is more in favour than France, and of course America, while Iraqi links with Russia are not growing any closer.

These developments have provided a boost for British trade. In the first nine months of 1970 British exports to Iraq reached £17.5m, £2.25m above the equivalent period for last year, and the Committee for Middle East Trade (COMET), who sent a delegation to Baghdad in 1969, summed up their report with a plea for a more active British interest in such a favourable market: "Exporters of both goods and services are urged to establish or renew their personal acquaintance with this important market, in which they will find themselves most welcome".

Iraq's new attitude to Britain is naturally improving the country's standing among British diplomats and politicians. But in a wider sphere the country's greater stability, and the peace with the Kurds, suggests that other countries might do well to start taking Iraq more seriously. The present progress may go no further, it may even collapse entirely should the Kurdish war break out again or a *coup* take place in Baghdad, but at least for the time being it might be as well to give Iraq the benefit of the doubt.

Miss V. E. Berkett
Near Eastern Dept.
F. C. O.

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With the compliments of

Our telno 313 to F. C. O.

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Baghdad Observer dated

12 March, 1971

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BAGHDAD

20/3/71

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Saddam on Party's dialogue with other national forces

FRANK TALK ON ISSUES OF THE HOUR

Comrade Saddam Hussein, Deputy Secretary-General of the Arab Baath Socialist Party and Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council, has spoken of a number of issues of the hour including the national front, the national assembly and Iraq's sovereign rights.

Comrade Hussein, who was speaking in an interview published in the current issue of *Al-Baath* magazine, replied to a question on the party's dialogue with other national forces. He said: "It is no longer sufficient to answer this question simply by saying that the dialogue continues. Something clearer is required as this dialogue has been going on for two years now. Naturally, one might wonder whether past negotiations were fruitful. Naturally, one might wonder whether obstructions have not been brought in the way of arriving at a final and conclusive result. As far as we are concerned we have not put forward impossible conditions. The conditions we made did not go beyond seeking guarantees to the real contents of the treaty signed from. As to the other side, the intentions there do not seem to have taken a settled shape. This, of course, is important. Intentions are an integral part of the concept of the front. We want this front to be of a strategic character growing with our presence and with the rule of the people not merely as a temporary arrangement. This being so, it is only natural that we are very meticulous over the formulas drawing up relations between us and other national quarters. A front including in precise formulas will inevitably reflect itself adversely on the national movement as a whole and bring much harm to the revolution itself. This is because either of two things will happen: other quarters outside the Baath Party will join the front for tactical reasons of their own by which they will seek to attain

to strategic positions whether it would be easy for them to come down with a sudden blow on the revolution, or we, the Baath Party, will, after a



while, find ourselves compelled to cut such quarters from the positions they had acquired within the front. Obviously, we accept neither of these two courses. We are much concerned in keeping the revolution within the framework of its contents and avoid any final parting of the way with other national quarters — which is precisely what an ignorant formula of the front will bring.

As far as our own intentions are concerned, we feel optimistic. In the light of our high confidence in the party and the revolution, we are adamant in our aversion to recklessness, high-handedness and arrogance. We fully realize that the homeland is in need of the services and combination of the simplest citizen. In particular, the homeland is in need of all progressive elements and movements that can contribute to the revolution in an organized manner."

Of the attitude of the Communists and the unjust campaigns directed against the Baath Party and the revolution, Comrade Hussein said: "My answer to this question will come in two parts: One dealing with the State which makes of their territory scenes of activities directed against our revolution, and the other dealing with the Communists as a party. I shall be clear and to the point, as this will

big it might be. Here, I am revealing nothing new; this has been the consistent opinion of our party and the consistent policy of our state.

"As to the Iraqi Communist Party, we wish to make an advice in the name of our Party, the Baath Party — a well-meaning and truthful advice. It is that the more they employ such twisted tactics in their relations with us, the further we pull away from them and look upon them as strangers to our onward advance. Conversely, the more frank and clear they are — even though this might be annoying to some who cannot tolerate it — the nearer they will be to us and to the revolution. Let them not try foreign formulas for bringing pressure to bear on us. Let them avoid this and know that we deal with them as Iraqi Communists. There is no other consideration governing our dealings with them."

Comrade Hussein was next questioned on relations between the differing up of capitalist solutions in the Arab region and the employment of the Communists as a means of pressure through propaganda directed against the Baath Party and the revolution. He said: "Let's answer assumed towards the most revolutionary and dictatorial government in the region while the extreme in the region while the fire is directed against Iraq, and Iraq alone, what are we going to make out of that? There can only be two interpretations. The first one has to do with the question of the so-called peaceful solutions and our rejection of them. We wish to reiterate here that we are not seekers of wars with Party and the revolution, and devastation as some would like to paint us, rather we are the seekers of rights that have been unjustly despoiled. Time has borne out the soundness of our judgment that the formulas dashed up were in fact capitalist, not peaceful, ones. What I want to stress here is that in rejecting such formulas, we do not bring ourselves up against the policies of any of the states seeking, on an international level, the imposition of capitalist solutions. This means that we highly appreciate the endeavoring of the Soviet Union in backing up our causes; we do not seek to impeach it simply because it has expressed itself for those suggested solutions. What we are after is to hold on to our rights strongly and firmly.

"The other interpretation is that we are a progressive revolutionary national party seeking the application of socialism and the building of socialist relationships in the Iraqi society and in the Arab society as a whole. There are some who might fear our success in truly representing the will of the Arab people and in successfully carrying out our basic tenets. This might pull the carpet from beneath those whom we mean by these words and abolish or, at least, greatly weaken their role."

the real contents of the series. As to the other side, the resolutions there do not seem to have taken a settled shape. This, of course, is important. Intentions are an integral part of the concept of the Front. We want this Front to be of a strategic character growing with our present and with the role of the people not merely as a temporary arrangement. This being so, it is only natural that we are very meticulous over the formulas drawing up resolutions between us and other national quarters. A front lacking in precise formulas will inevitably reflect itself adversely on the national movement as a whole and bring much harm to the revolution itself. This is because either of two things will happen: other quarters outside the Baath Party will join the Front for tactical reasons of their own by which they will seek to alienate

us, and ourselves compelled to cut such quarters from the position they had acquired within the Front. Obviously, we accept neither of these two courses. We are much concerned in keeping the revolution within the framework of its contents and avoid any final parting of the way with other national quarters — which is precisely what we insist for. As far as our own intentions are concerned, we feel optimistic. In the light of our high confidence in the party and the revolution, we are adamant in our aversion to recklessness, high-handedness and arrogance. We fully realize that the homeland is in need of the services and combination of the ablest citizen. In particular, the homeland is in need of all progressive elements and movements that can contribute to the revolution in an organized manner."

Of the attitude of the Communists and the unjust campaign directed against the Baath Party and the revolution, Comrade Hussein said: "My answer to this question will come in two parts. One dealing with the State which makes of their territory scenes of activities directed against our revolution, and the other dealing with the Communists as a party. I shall be clear and to the point, as this will be of service not only to us but to the other side as well."

"Let's begin with the states that make of themselves scenes of activities directed against our Party and which, more than that, continue and magnify incidents in an incredible manner unmatched even by the attacks directed against the most reactionary governments that have always been haunting Ireland, Norway, Latvia, the Government of the Shah of Iran as an example. Is the Shah's government a progressive one? But let's leave this alone. Let's ask ourselves the question: Is the Shah's government more patriotic than that of the Iraqi regime? Is it more sympathetic with the Communist Party and in closer relations with it than our party and regime in Iraq? If the answer is in the affirmative, let them declare then that the Shah is a progressive and patriotic person and that his ties with the Turkish Party are cordial enough and sound enough not only to ensure alliance between the Shah's policies but also to establish the freest, most economic and trade relations with him."

"What I want to say concerning the position of the Party and the State is this: We are a small but a sovereign country — a country with a population of ten million which ranks among the developing states. But our country upholds its sovereign rights and rejects unreasonable and irresponsible pressures and can be very obstinate on this. This attitude on our part had better be understood by friends before overseas. Without such understanding it is impossible for us to have settled relations with any power however

strong who might fear of ours in truly representing the will of the Arab people in successfully carrying out their basic tenets. This pull the carpet from beneath those whom we mean by words and should or, at greatly weaken their role."

Comrade Hussein was next questioned on relations between the Arab region and the revolution. He said: "Let's answer this question frankly too. When we see that silence is assumed towards the most reactionary and colonial governments in the region while we are directed against Iraq, Iraq alone, what are we going to make out of that? There can only be two later. The first one has to do with the question of the so-called peaceful solutions and our rejection of them. We wish to reiterate here that we are not speakers of words and devastation as some would like to paint us; rather we are the seekers of rights that have been unjustly despoiled."

Regyfract.
Miss Beddell

This is 1624
3
rather a good
article on Iraq.
Perhaps it c^d. be
entered, if you
think worthwhile?

Yes 2. We must
do a piece
on "One year
of the Kurdish
Treaty" as soon
as we have B&A's
comments. Of 23/3

Miss V.E. Beckett.
Near Eastern Dept,
F.C.O.

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| RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No. 10 24 March 1971 |
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Our telno 313 to F.C.O.

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Baghdad Observer dated
16 March, 1971.

BRITISH EMBASSY
BAGHDAD

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ROGERS PLAN DIV INTO 2 CONFLICT

Important policy statement by Comrade Saddam

TACKLES VARIOUS DOMESTIC AND ARAB TOPICS

Sd. Saddam Hussein, Vice Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council and Deputy Secretary General of the Regional Leadership of the Arab Baath Socialist Party, has declared in a major policy statement that the Rogers plan was a skillful imperialistic stratagem which divided the Arab people and also the official side in the Arab homeland each against itself. That stratagem, he said, played off the Arabs against each other and divided them into two conflicting camps rather than allowing them to present a united front against the common enemy.

Sd. Hussein, who was speaking in an interview published yesterday in "Al-Dustoor" magazine of Beirut, began by referring to the March 11 Manifesto on the occasion of its first anniversary. He said:

"The stature given to the March 11 Manifesto was by no means an act of emotionalism; rather, it stemmed from a scientific appraisal of the manifesto's contents in relation to the advance of our people. The manifesto can be described as regulating and accentuating the conscious will of the Iraqi people and the canalization of energies in the right and proper course."

"The popular support and the wide-spread demonstrations of solidarity which greeted the manifesto soon after it was broadcast represented a genuine referendum. The revolution — any revolution, be it the July revolution or any other revolution — is essentially an expression of the will of the people and, as such is bound to work objective effects on the future in a full and comprehensive manner. When I described the March manifesto as one ranking with the July revolution, that was because the manifesto reflected the substance and essence of the July revolution."

GAINS SECURED FOR KURDISH PEOPLE

Of the gains secured for the Kurdish people by the revolution, Comrade Hussein said: "When we view the people of Iraq as a homogeneous unity, it is only natural that this unity gets weakened should any of its components become crippled. The Kurdish people is a part of the people of Iraq. If, therefore, the Kurdish people were to continue living the same anomalous conditions as the sad events

FULL SELF-RULE FOR KURDS

Referring to the revolution's position over the question of granting the Kurdish people full self-rule, Sd. Saddam Hussein said:

"So far, our Kurdish people have not been granted self rule because all the targets so far attained were landmarks up the road to self-rule. This is the most important part in the manifesto and, whose fulfillment is the object of complete determination. The majority of the targets set by the March Manifesto have been put into effect by the authority and the Baath Party."

CONSOLIDATION OF IRAQ'S UNITY

Next Sd. Hussein commented on the proposition that self rule meant relinquishing a part of Iraq. He said:

"Such a proposition is often made by some people. It is either a misconception of the meaning of self rule or an act of mischief-making directed against the March Manifesto, the national authority and the Arab Baath Socialist Party."

"The Kurds themselves might have a share in this mischief-making. Self rule means the consolidation of the unity of Iraq and utter rejection of division. Fighting within the ranks of the people of Iraq undoubtedly leads to division. By contrast, the granting to a section of the people of Iraq of their national rights within the framework of territorial unity, the full sovereignty of Iraq and the full sovereignty of the central authority over each part of the country, is an act of accentuating the unity of Iraq which is just the opposite of any other sense that might be conveyed. Any chan-

VIEWPOINTS ON BARZANI

Of meetings with Sd. Mustafa al-Barzani, Chairman of the Kurdistan Democratic Party, Sd. Hussein said: "Barzani is an Iraqi citizen, and from the political viewpoint, the Chairman of the Kurdistan Democratic Party. On the level of personal relations, he is one of our brothers and enjoys our confidence. Our contacts with him, between now and then, fall within this framework. There is nothing strange about our meetings with him. He is neither a foreigner nor a person with an independent status. We meet with him in the ordinary way as Saddam meets with a member of the Revolutionary Command Council or a cabinet minister or a member of the Kurdistan Democratic Party."

DIALOGUE OVER

NATIONAL FRONT

Speaking of the dialogue over the question of the national

of the Front. We want it to be of a strategic character growing with science and with the rule of people not merely as a temporary arrangement. This is, it is only natural that the formula drawing up relations between us and national quarters.

ATTAINMENT STRATEGIC POSI

A front lacking in formulas will inevitably set itself adversely on national movement as a whole, bringing much harm to the revolution itself. This is either of two things: open: other quarters of the Baath Party will join in tactical positions of their own which they will seek to strategic positions. It would be easy for come down with a blow on the revolution, the Baath Party, will, while, find ourselves to oust such quarters f

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within the Front. Obviously, we accept neither of these two courses. We are much concerned in keeping the revolution within the framework of its contents and avoid any disintegration of the way with other national quarters — which is precisely what an incorrect formula of the Front will bring. As far as our own intentions are concerned, we feel optimistic. In the light of our high confidence in the party and the revolution, we are adamant in our aversion to resolutions, high-handedness and arrogance. We fully realize that the homeland is in need of the services and combination of the simplest citizen. In particular, the household is in need of all progressive elements and movements that can contribute to the revolution in an organized manner."

**ARAB SUMMITS
AND ROGERS PLAN**

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ATTAINMENT OF RATEGIC POSITIONS

A front lacking in precise formulas will inevitably reflect itself adversely on the national movement as a whole and bring much harm to the revolution itself. This is because either of two things will happen: other quarters outside the Fourth Party will join the Front for tactical reasons, which they will seek to attach to strategic positions wherever it would be easy for them to come down with a sudden blow on the revolution; or we, the Fourth Party, will, after

players off the Arabs one against another and divided them into two conflicting camps rather than permitting them to present a united front against the common enemy. This outcome of the game played by the Rogers plan is now clearly reflected by the international moves now underway. As far as the present is concerned, some new formulas have been put forward. But do they seriously seek to revise former attitudes and put the energies of the Arab nations on the road of liberation? There is no encouraging in this respect. On the contrary, declarations are being made day after day over the question of establishing direct negotiations with Israel and recognizing Israel. With all this, how can we agree to the holding of a summit conference? Such a conference would give legitimacy to the initiatives moving from one country to another with the object of recognizing the Israeli presence. Most were agreed to attending an Arab summit so as to give a legal sanction to what has come to be called peace initiatives?

ARAB SUMMIT AND LIBERATION WAR

appearance of the Bogers plan and the Arab countries. At that same summit, a clear plan was approved for sweeping Arab rights and pursuing the path of liberation. Then came the surprise of consent to the Bogers plan. The Bogers plan was indeed a striking masterpiece which split the Arab people into two parts and the Arab governments — and the official side in the Arab homeland — into two parts as well. The plan for question

Then there is also the question of the regimes participating in Arab summits. A scientific analysis of these summits conferences and of the character of the majority of the Arab institutions with common beforehand that such conferences can come to no conclusive results. Each time we attended a summit conference, especially the conference attended by all Arab states without exception, it never occurred to us that such conferences

FATE OF EASTERN FRONT

Replying to a question on the fate of the Eastern Front after the front-line dating commenced to peaceful solutions, the Vice-Chairman of the ROC said: "The question has within it its own answer. The *Eastern Front* meant the presence of Arab armies in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon and the presence of a command for these armies with the object of defeating a blow to Israel. Now that it has been judged that matters could be solved by means of direct negotiations and the recognition of Israel, what reason do we have to maintain the *Eastern Front* and for the *Eastern Front* command? In my opinion, there is no longer any warrant for this presence. The *Eastern Front* was the last at home even after the Rogers Plan was defied up. It was rejected by the brothers concerned in spite of the insistence displayed by the Iraqi side on relieving that command."

(Continued on page 4)

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"The stature given to the March 11 Manifesto was by no means an act of emotional alibi; rather, it stemmed from a scientific appraisal of the manifesto's contents in relation to the advance of our people. The manifesto can be described as re-guiding and accentuating the conscious will of the Iraqi people and the causal action of energies in the right and proper course.

**CONSOLIDATION
OF IRAQ'S
UNITY**

"The popular support and the wide-spread demonstrations of solidarity which greeted the manifesto soon after it was broadcast represented a genuine referendum. The revolution — any revolution, be it the July revolution or any other revolution — is essentially an expression of the will of the people and, as such, is bound to work objective effects on the future in a full and comprehensive manner.

When I described the March manifesto as one ranking with the July revolution, that was because the manifesto reflected the substance and essence of the July revolution.

**GAINS SECURED
FOR KIRDIRISH
PEOPLE**

Of the gains secured for the Kurdish people by the revolution, Comrade Hussein said: "When we view the people of Iraq as a homogeneous unity, it is only natural that this unity gets weakened should any of its components become crippled. The Kurdish people is a part of the people of Iraq. If, therefore, the Kurdish people were to continue involving the same anomalous conditions as the sad events which extended from 1961 to 1970, the resulting fratricide would undoubtedly lead to immense wreckage in energies."

Of the chances that have already been put into effect of the March 11 Manifesto, the Vice Chairman of the ROC said:

"The essence in the March 11 Manifesto is attainment to self-rule by our Kurdish people. It means granting self-rule to our Kurdish people in the areas where they constitute a majority as stated in the enunciation of the manifesto — such self rule to have its full scientific end process, the full science, all in a modern form."

Referring to the revolution's position over the question of granting the Kurdish people full self-rule, Sd. Saddam Hussein said:

"So far, our Kurdish people have not been granted self rule because all the targets so far attained were landmarks up the road to self-rule. This is the most important part in the manifesto and, whose fulfillment is the object of complete determination. The majority of the targets set by the March Manifesto have been put into effect by the authority and the Baath Party."

Next Sd. Hussein commented on the proposition that self rule meant relinquishing a part of Iraq. He said:

"Such a proposition is often made by some people. It is either a misapprehension of the meaning of self rule or an act of misbelief, making directed against the March Manifesto, the national authority and the Arab Baath Socialist Party."

"The Kurds themselves might have a share in this misbelief-making. Self rule means the consolidation of the unity of Iraq and utter rejection of division. Fighting within the ranks of the people of Iraq undoubtedly leads to division. By contrast, the granting to a section of the people of Iraq of their national rights within the framework of territorial unity, the full sovereignty of Iraq and the full sovereignty of each part of the country, is an act of accentuating the unity of Iraq which is just the opposite of any other sense that might be conveyed. Any characteristic might be conveyed, to the contrary, whether on the part of the Arabs or the Kurds stood to be categorically rejected by us. We relentlessly fight any separatist ideas if any existed on the Kurdish side; with the same determination we fight any characteristic ideas that might be found within the ranks of the Arabs."

Replying to a question on the nomination to the post of Vice-President, Sd. Hussein said so far no Kurd has been nominated to the Vice-Presidency. He added: "This is a matter of concern to our Kurdish brothers. For our part, we have asked our Kurdish brothers to name whoever they choose to this post. The matter is left out to them."

**VIEWPOINTS ON
BARZANI**

Of meetings with Sd. Mustafa al-Barzani, Chairman of the Kurdistan Democratic Party, Sd. Hussein said: "Barzani is an Iraqi citizen, and from the political viewpoint, the Chairman of the Kurdistan Democratic Party. On the level of personal relations, he is one of our brothers and enjoys our confidence. Our contacts with him, between now and then, fall within this framework. There is nothing strange about our meetings with him. He is neither a foreigner nor a person with an independent status. We meet with him in the ordinary way as Saddam meets with a member of the Revolutionary Command Council or a cabinet minister or a member of the Kurdistan Democratic Party."

**ATTAINMENT OF
STRATEGIC POSITIONS**

A front lacking in precise formulas will inevitably reflect itself adversely on the national movement as a whole and bring much harm to the revolution itself. This is because either of two things will happen: other quarters outside the Baath Party will join the front for tactical reasons of their own by which they will seek to attain to strategic positions whether it would be easy for them to come down with a sudden blow on the revolution; or we, the Baath Party, will, after a while, find ourselves compelled to oust such quarters from the positions they had acquired.

**DIALOGUE OVER
NATIONAL FRONT**

Speaking of the dialogue over the question of the national front, Sd. Hussein said: "It is no longer sufficient to answer this question simply by saying that the dialogue continues. Something clearer is required as this dialogue has been going on for two years now. Finally, one might wonder whether other quarters have not been brought in the way of arriving at a final and conclusive results. As far as we are concerned we have not put forward impossible conditions. The conditions we made did not go beyond seeking guarantees to the real contents of the envisaged front. As to the other side, the intentions there do not seem to have taken a settled shape. Tale, of course, is important. Intentions are an integral part of the concept

RIJMOURS OF CABINET RESHUFFLE REFUTED

(Continued from page 1)

FRANK TALK ABOUT PALESTINE REVOLUTION

Sd. Hussein said he spoke first of the conditions of the Palestinian revolution at the present stage. He said: "This subject needs to be frankly discussed. This is warranted by the fact that some quarters have begun recognizing Israel or heading to recognizing the occupation of part of the territory captured in 1967 as a right to be seen from the standpoint of Israeli spokesmen with the declarations of others. We must be frank to ourselves and to others as well."

PEOPLE MAKE THE REVOLUTIONS

In the beginning, the Palestinian resistance was a group of guerrillas held by attempts to various Arab regimes which about in mutual contradictions. For instance, when some bloody consented to the Rogers plan, there appeared among the Resistance Movement at the same time. This is something strange. The Resistance is originally concerned for liberation and for organized action and struggle. If within this revolutionary formula, there are some recognizing the Rogers plan, something must be wrong in the composite set up on the resistance movement.

Another thing is that the Resistance Movement, as some strategists have said, has developed in some sections of its activities bureaucratic and clerical formulas. The Resistance Movement is essentially based on solidarity in movement and this can hardly be had at one with offices, telephones and motor-cars."

WAR WITH ISRAEL NOT AN EASY JOB

Sd. Hussein went on: "The Arab Resistance was then like a spotted child. It was born in an atmosphere of early contradictions not in revolutionary struggle as was the case in Algeria where fellow Arabs, despite the obvious, have now realized this, but doggedly even with absolute shot guns. As every institution pretends a certain current, the Arab Resistance Movement expected a new and elegant rifle and plenty of ammunition. In its general character, the Arab Resistance Movement revealed luxury. Of course, this did not apply to all resistance fighters but they appeared with the Palestine Resistance Movement a dash which might the line of least resistance. They had no hesitations to armed struggle which required endurance and persistence. This is one of the factors that must be kept in mind when we make by any means possible."

oppressive Arab revolutionary who is devoted to its people and determined to regain its political rights if not now then in the future. The Resistance Movement is required to grasp this fact. It is also required to regime could possibly offer it direct assistance; even when it should be taken as something extra and as a new impetus. For the Resistance Movement to anticipate that it could fight with the unknown, the balance of all Arab regimes is pure illusion. Arab institutions, by their current opposition, cannot come up with such a continuity on fighting Israel.

The Deputy Secretary-General of the Party's Regional Leadership also called for letting the people have their say in everything. "This is because it was the people who made the revolutions. Sd. Hussein said this while discussing the position vis-a-vis the Rogers plan and the Revolutionary Committee it represented. He said: "The Assistant Secretary-General of our Party in his latest declaration stressed that Iraq has been seeking the creation of a pan-Arab front for all revolutionary solutions. Such a front is to comprise the countries opposed to the present solutions along with the progressive parties and movements united together in the struggle against Zionism and imperialism. Our objective is to unify Arab struggle."

PHILOSOPHIZING DEFEAT

"There are men calling themselves Arabs, and gathering at meetings who philosophize the idea of defeat such as by declaring: 'Gentlemen, with the means at my disposal, I just can't fight.' This is of course much easier than excusing defeat by giving Israel the semblance of infirmity. Such things can work direct effects on the Arab mentality and reflect the power of resistance and endurance. Such acts of philosophizing defeat spell out some of the greatest dangers we are now facing."

DIVIDE AND RULE

Another point is the return to the same old responsibility: no: One is Palestinian, another is Lebanese, a third is Egyptian, a fourth is Iraqi and so on with each required to be concerned exclusively in his country's own affairs. Such a time belongs to the traditional mistakes of imperialism and is aimed at promoting the decreed formula of divide and rule. This regionalistic streak follows the traditional streak of Arab rulers and expression following the reasonable acts of Arab rulers that led to the Palestinian disaster of 1948. It is back again now with the express purpose of driving the Arab people into desperation and regional shrinkage. In Iraq there are some who harp on this time, but they are a minority. There are others of the same category in Jordan and in Egypt. But the conscience of our Arab nation is immune to it. Our nation rejects anything that might lead to capitulation. There is yet another important point worthy of mention. The shifting of the issue from peoples on to the government is a dominant conspiracy. The Arab people must have their say in everything and their capabilities must not be undervalued. It is the Arab people who made the revolutions already existing and can make it all more if they see that their rulers and institutions are swerving from the national revolutionary course."

CABINET RESHUFFLE

Replying to a question of renewed cabinet reshuffles, Sd. Hussein said: "I want to cast light on hostile propaganda and rumors. Rumor mongering has for its purpose to sow confusion. The first is to reduce the velocity of the people's advance and the second is to give the people the impression that the present regime is short-lived. This is a dangerous game."

(Continued on page 3)

RUMOURS OF CABINET RESHUFFLE REFUTED

(Continued from page 4)

of formula. This is very natural. However, participation in the assembly by individual members of the communist party as private citizens is another standing matter.

KIRKUK AND

SELF-RULE

Next, Sd. Saddam Hussein replied to what has been stated by some quarters that Kirkuk is a Kurdish area. He explained that the self-rule formula "is conferred not upon the land but upon the people — i.e. the nationality which holds population majority in the land. This formula does not preclude the presence of a section of the small minority within the major nationality in areas outside the frontiers of the area where the small minority constitutes a majority and within which they are granted self-rule. Nor does it preclude the movement of members of the larger nationality to the land inhabited by members of the small minority to which self-rule is granted. Otherwise what mentality can it be which seeks to separate the two or more nationalities of the same people within administrative boundaries? prohibitive residence or employment or movement to the members of the other nationality. This is a chauvinistic mentality which will reject and fight because it seeks separatism."

Sd. Hussein continued: "Kirkuk is as much a part of Iraq as Baghdad or Arbil. We are not as much concerned about the location of Kirkuk as about the Iraqi character. Another thing is that in Kirkuk there are three nationalities: Arabs, Kurds and Turkmen. The March 11 Manifesto specified the areas and governments where there exists a Kurdish majority to be granted self-rule. The administrative zones from the sub-district up to the district and the governorate where a Kurdish majority exists are granted self-rule. This applies to Kirkuk as much as it does to Baghdad, Arbil and Sulaimaniyah. By the way,

PRESENT SYSTEM OF PRESIDENCY STAYS

Sd. Hussein denied any intention to amend the Constitution, particularly as regards the presidential system. He said: "There is going to be no amendment to the present system of the Presidency which has arisen out of the will of the Party and given expression by the will of the Revolutionary Command Council. The will in question remains standing."

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Replying to another question on the period during which the National Assembly is to be constituted, Sd. Hussein said: "Definitely, this will not be long. We have already asked our Kurdish brothers to name their representatives, and send us a list of their names. For our part, we have drawn up a list of names of progressive national elements, a group of Party members and representatives of the existing popular organizations. The names of the members of the National Assembly will thus be announced in accordance with the assembly's law and the Interim Constitution."

Of the participation by the Communists in the Assembly

I wish to state emphatically that imperialism is driving its plans on the basis of torpedoing the March 11 Manifesto. In our opinion the March 11 cases for good among our Iraqis people, must stay and be implemented. No torpedoing not only brings home to Arab imperialists but is also a major setback to the will of our Kurdish people and a blow to it. Chauvinists, Arabs and Kurds alike had better understand that the torpedoing of the March 11 Manifesto can be beneficial only to the schemes of imperialism. Should this manifesto be torpedoed — which Allah forbids — the chaotic within the Kurdish movement will discover a tremendous break between them and imperialism different from the present one. They will find out that intentions will take shape

new of imperialism and its agents and in the view of the vindictive elements such a process might have devastating effects on the regime. Now, to supply the direct answer to the question, I hereby state that there are vacancies in the cabinet which, naturally must be filled with new elements, I should also say that the formula controlling our dealings is that of the July 17 revolution and of brotherly relationship between us — one that cannot be shaken by the appointment of a new minister or the departure of another nor by the appointment of ten or by the departure of ten. This all is permeated with the spirit of comradeship dating back to the days of bitter struggle — the blood days spent by party members in defending the freedom of the people.

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Of the participation by the Communists in the Assembly, the Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council said: "The national front is a formula representing all political organizations within the State. The National Assembly is one of the legislative formulas of the State and the source of legislation. In other words, it is the legislative power in the State. As such, the participation by the Communist Party in the National Assembly cannot come except after the Communist Party has joined the national front."

a section of the small minority within the major nationality in areas outside the frontiers of the area where the small minority constitutes a majority and within which they are granted self-rule. Nor does it preclude the movement of members of the larger nationality to the land inhabited by members of the small minority to which self-rule is granted. Or, otherwise what mentality can it be which seeks to separate the two or more nationalities of the same people within administrative boundaries prohibiting residence or employment or movement to the members of the other nationality. This is a chauvinistic mentality which will reject and fight because it seeks separatism."

Sd. Hussein continued: "Kirkuk is as much a part of Iraq as Baghdad or Arbil. We are not as much concerned about the location of Kirkuk as about the Iraq character. Another thing is that in Kirkuk there are three nationalities: Arabs, Kurds and Turks. The March 11 Manifesto specified the areas and governates where there exists a Kurdish majority to be granted self-rule. The administrative zones from the sub-district up to the district and the governorates where a Kurdish majority exists are granted self-rule. This applies to Kirkuk as much as it does to Baghdad, Arbil and Sulaimaniyah. By the way, I wish to state emphatically that imperialism is drawing its plans on the basis of torpedoing the March 11 Manifesto. In our opinion the March 11 Manifesto, rehashed by the forces for good among our Iraqi people, must stay and be implemented. The torpedoing not only brings home to Arab interests but is also a major setback to the will of our Kurdish people and a blow to it. Chauvinists, Arabs and Kurds alike had better understand that the torpedoing of the March 11 Manifesto can be beneficial only to the schemings of imperialism. Should this manifesto be torpedoed — which Allah forbids — the character within the Kurdish movement will discover a formula between them and imperialism different from the present one. They will find out that intentions will take shape and turns. One important point I wish to emphasize is that we will never back down from the letter and spirit of the March 11 Manifesto. This issue needs the cooperation of the whole of the people of Iraq, not only the Arab Baath Socialist Party and the Kurdistan Democratic Party. The people have expressed their judgement by proclaiming the manifesto. This is the final judgement which stands up to the suspect chauvinistic formulas whether presented by Arabs or Kurds any time and at any place."

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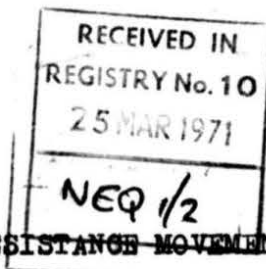


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2/9

20 March 1971

Miss V E Beckett
Near Eastern Department
F C O



Mr. Lay 20/3
Enter 16 25/2

Dear Veronica,

IRAQ AND THE PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

1. In paragraph 5 of our telegram no. 312 (not to all), the Ambassador picked out the surprisingly blunt remarks of Saddam Hussain (Vice President of the RGC) about the Palestinian Resistance Movement, published here on 16 March.
2. Next day, the press proceeded to give extremely full coverage to talks which went on for 3 days between a PDPFLP delegation led by Naif Hawatma, and the Iraqi Ba'ath Party, led by Abdul Karim al Shaikhly (Foreign Minister). You will have seen these mentioned in pages 3-4 of The Arab World for 18 March. I enclose clippings from the Baghdad Observer which carry Naif Hawatma's opening statement. According to later press reports, the possibility of setting up an "Arab National front" was later discussed. (This had, incidentally, been advocated a few days earlier, in a Lebanese magazine, by Shibli al Aisami, Iraq's Assistant Secretary-General of the Pan-Arab Command of the Ba'ath Party - see page 11 of The Arab World for 17 March).
3. What this betokens is not yet clear. My own guess is that the closeness in time of these statements to the final withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Jordan, can be no coincidence. Saddam Hussain has now made it fairly clear that the Fedayeen can expect no direct help from the Iraqi Army: to compensate, they are bound to make some bellicose noises to show that they have not lost interest in the Palestinian Resistance in general. But why they have chosen the erratic Hawatma as the vehicle for this message is rather a mystery (although it is clear that relations with Habbash have been strained since September). We also as yet have no idea what practical form Iraqi assistance to the Fedayeen is going to take - if any.

Yours, Christopher.

A C D S MacRae

copy to: (with enclosure) Chancery Amman
(without ") Chanceries, Beirut, Kuwait, Tel Aviv

pr/16

CONFIDENTIAL

ENC 1

SPECIAL ISSUE

ON THE OCCASION OF
THE 24TH ANNIVERSARY OF
THE FOUNDING OF THE
ARAB BAATH SOCIALIST
PARTY.

THE Baghdad Observer

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF MOHAMMED KHIDHER ABBAS

PARTY BIRTH CELEBRAT

Massive country-wide festivities marking 24th anniversary of Baath Party founding

The 24th anniversary of the founding of the Arab Baath Socialist Party is today celebrated on both official and public levels throughout the country.

THE BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY OF THE ARAB BAATH SOCIALIST PARTY.

The Arab Baath Socialist Party was born at a time when the Arab masses were tossed off by traditionalist ideological currents that never thought of relying on the Arab masses.

The ideology of the Arab Baath Party has therefore come to do away, once for all, with all the traditionalist methods that had begetten nothing but backwardness and weakness. The Baath ideology has become a revolution in its own right — a revolution that changed the face of the struggle raging between the Arab masses on the one hand and the forces of evil and reaction on the other. It was an ideology that was torn of the labours of the Arab Nation and the agonies of the masses.

Today, April 7, is the 24th anniversary of the birth of the Arab Baath Socialist Party which is rightly considered the banner-bearer of the Arab revolution from the Gulf to the Ocean. The Party, from its very first days, plunged itself with zeal and dedication into the Arab struggle against imperialism and Zionism. The Party was, as it were, the first Arab revolutionary movement to translate into practice the strategy of adopting armed struggle as the ideal way for liberating the occupied territories. Its armed vanguards were therefore in the forefront of the Arab masses fighting the imperialist-Zionist conspiracy that sought to grab Palestine.

Apart from the Party's revolutionary strategy in combating imperialism and the Zionist occupation, its

To mark the anniversary, an oratory festival is to take place at AL-Mustansiriyah University at 4 o'clock in the afternoon and will be attended by Comrades of the National and Regional Leaderships and senior officials.

Comrade Shibli al-Aysami, Assistant Secretary General of the Party will, at 10 o'clock this morning receive congratulators at the building of the National Leadership

In the evening, a dinner party is to be given at the National Assembly Building to be followed by a variety programme at AL-Nasr Cinema House.

The Ministry of Youth is also organising a sports parade in cooperation with sports federations. The parade is to start off from the Scouts Grounds at 2 o'clock this afternoon and proceed in the direction of Kadhemiyah Youth Centre where a mass rally is to be held.

Meanwhile, the National and Regional Leaderships of the Arab Baath Socialist Party have received telegrams of greetings on the occasion from army commanders and Iraqi diplomatic envoys.

Among the senders was the Commander of the Third Division, officials and employees of the Iraqi Embassy in Damascus, General Hamad Shehab, Member of the RCC and Minister of Defence.

On the same occasion, the Party Leadership received telegrams of congratulations from the party's organisations, unionist and labour committees, the National Federation of Iraqi Students and the Peasant Association in Samarra.

Similar telegrams were received from the Union of Water, Electricity and Municipality in Basrah Governorate and the Administrative Committees of Karadai al-Sharqiyah Sports Club and the Railway Club at Shalchiyah.

The Political Bureau of the Kurdistan Democratic Party also congratulated the Regional Leadership of the Arab Baath Socialist Party. It said in its telegram:

"We seize the opportunity on the 24th anniversary of the foundation of your allied party to send to you the congratulations of our party and its best wishes for your success and good luck. We look upon this anniversary as the best starting point for the solidarity of



Amman, Tuesday.

Two Jordanian fighter planes were damaged when Palestinian commandos early today shelled the Mafrak air base in north east Jordan. A military spokesman announced here tonight.

Previously the spokesman said there was no significant damage to the air facility, also known as AL-Hussein air base.

LLANELLI, WALES: Six coalminers were killed and 26 injured today when deadly methane gas swept through part of a colliery near here in which 300 men were working.

TANANARIVE: More than 300 people are believed to have been arrested following disturbances in southern Madagascar which caused 30 deaths.

TAN CANH, SOUTH VIETNAM: Liberation Army sappers today fought their way to within 50 yards of a South Vietnamese divisional command post while others launched their 10th attack in a week on a besieged government artillery base five miles away.

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تصدر عن المؤسسة العامة
للصحافة والطباعة

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

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Agent from the Party's revolutionary strategy in combating imperialism and the Zionist occupation, its ideology in respect to social and economic evolution rests among the most prominent ideologies that have for the purpose eliminating class, race, sectarian and sectional differences.

As a revolutionary Arab movement, the Baath Party deeply believes in the unity and freedom of the Arab homeland and in the adoption of socialism as the only workable way of causing class differences to disappear and achieving economic integration between all parts of the Arab homeland along

M.K. ADEAS (Continued on page 28)

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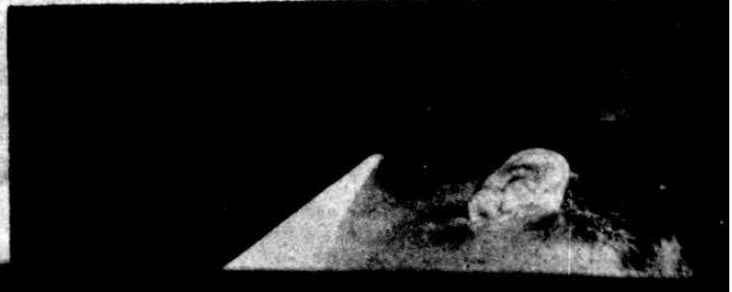
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THEBESAN: Egyptian Foreign Minister Mahmoud Foad today visited the Shah and met with him at the palace.

ANKARA: Turkey's biggest parliamentary group the Justice party of former Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel, formally decided today to give a vote of confidence to Dr. Nihat Erkin's new government.

NEW YORK: Igor Stravinsky, one of the 20th century's greatest and most influential composers, died here today, aged 88.



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PARTY CELEBRATION IN NEW YORK

New York, Tuesday. The Organisation of A.B.S.I. in New York celebrated today the 24th anniversary of the founding of the Arab Baath Socialist Party. The INA correspondent in New York said that they held a luncheon party attended by the Iraqi delegation at the United Nations headed by Sd. Tawfik Shalabi, Iraq's permanent delegate to the U.N.

LANDS FOR 4,000 PEASANT FAMILIES

106,417 hectares of agricultural lands are to be distributed today to 4,000 peasant families in the governorates of Baghdad, Maysan, and Dhiqar on the occasion of the 24th anniversary of the founding of the A.B.S.P.

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Chile becomes the 28th country to recognise the GDR.

DAYAN PREFERS WAR TO WITHDRAWAL

Tel Aviv, Tuesday.

Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Dayan said here last night that Israel would prefer war to withdrawal from occupied territories.

"If the choice is withdrawal to the 1967 war borders or war, I would prefer not to withdraw. War along the present line would be preferable," he said in a speech.

MORE FOREIGN NEWS ON PAGE 20

FOR LOCAL NEWS SEE PAGES 2 & 19

LANDS FOR 4,000 PEASANT FAMILIES

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Bakr to chair Supreme Agricultural Council meeting today

The Supreme Agricultural Council is meeting today under the chairmanship of President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr to discuss the agricultural and irrigational projects intended to be included in the 5-year (1970/74) National Development Plan. At today's meeting, the Council is to go through the programme of carrying out what remains of the stages of Al-Ishaqi Irrigation Project.

Yesterday, full members of the Kadhemiyah district of the Council paid a visit to the Baghdad in the south project which extends from the project to which ID. the town of Balad in the north 12,100,000 has been appropriate.

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It will be recalled that preliminary surveys of the projects started off in 1954 but actual work did not start until 1961 and that again was suspended before long on account of the negligence of the officials concerned.

Work on the project began in earnest only on December 18 last.—INA.



President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr received the letters of credence of the new Ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic at the Presidential Palace at noon yesterday. Present at the presentation ceremony was Sd. Abdul Karim al-Sheikhly, Member of the RCC and Foreign Minister and Sd. Yehya Yaseen, Head of the Office of the Presidency of the Republic. — INA

TAQA HONOURS ABSP AND KDP DELEGATIONS TO SOVIET CONGRESS

Sd. Saleh Taqa, the Iraqi Ambassador to Morocco, on

IZZI TO LAY 2 FOUNDATION STONES TODAY

Sd. Adnan Ayoub Sabri al-Izzi, Minister of Communications is today laying the foundation stones to the Central Telephone Building and the building of the Telecommunications Centre in Baghdad. The

Monday evening gave a reception party at the Embassy House in honour of the delegation of the Arab Baath Socialist Party and the delegation of the Kurdistan Democratic Party to the 24th congress of the Soviet Communist Party.

The Baath Party delegation is led by Comrade Abdul Khateq al-Samarrae, Member of the National and Regional Leaderships of the Party, and the

HUWAIZI INSPECTS PUBLIC POULTRY CO.

Sd. Nafedh Jalal Huwazi, Minister of Agriculture yesterday inspected the Public Poultry Company and vegetable stands in different parts of the capital. The minister who was accompanied by Sd. Hisham al-Izzi, Acting Chairman of the State Organisation of Agricultural Development obtained first-hand information on matters of public interest during the tour which lasted for two



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In his opening address leader of the Syrian team he hoped the new Iraqi talks would lead to the after solution serving the interests of both sisterly

MORE LOCAL NEWS ON PAGE 19

BASRAH AND POLISH UNIVERSITIES SIGN ACCORD

A cultural agreement yesterday signed between the University of Basrah and the Polish University of

The agreement was signed aboard the yacht Al-Thawar using the Shatt al-Arab was signed by Dr. Nazim Shawi, President of the University of Basrah and Professor Stanislaw, President of the Polish University. The agreement provides among other for granting ten fellows to study at the Polish University.

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Chair Supreme Cultural Council Meeting today

Cultural Council is meeting in the presence of President Ahmad al-Hakim to discuss the agricultural projects intended to be included in the 1974 National Development Plan. At the meeting, the Council is to discuss the programme of carrying out the stages of Al-Ishaqi Irriga-

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It will be recalled that the Fruits and Vegetables Marketing Administration has recently imported quantities of vegetables and fruits and put them to the market to be retailed at reasonable prices.—INA.



PRESIDENCY AUDIENCES

CALLERS

Sd. Adel Ahmed Zaidan, Iraq's Ambassador to the Democratic Republic of Sudan yesterday morning called at the Presidential Palace and signed the visitors book on the occasion of his current visit to Baghdad.

Sd. Labeed al-Qaraghooli, newly appointed Director General of the Iqari (Real Estate) Bank also signed the visitors book offering thanks to the President for appointing him to this post.

Poet Omar abu Risha also signed the visitors book on the occasion of his current visit to Baghdad.

IRAQI-SYRIAN TALKS ON EUPHRATES WATERS OPEN IN DAMASCUS

Damascus, Tuesday.

The first round of official Iraqi-Syrian talks on the utilization of the Euphrates river waters opened up here today.

The Iraqi negotiating team is led by Dr. Naji Abdul Qader, Chairman of the Scientific Research Organisation at the Ministry of Higher Education and the Syrian team is led by Dr. Nooriddin al-Rafaie of the College of Engineering, the University of Damascus.

In his opening address, the leader of the Syrian team said he hoped the new Iraqi proposals would lead to the sought-after solution serving well the interests of both sisterly countries. He hoped that a fair division of the river's waters will be arrived at by Syria, Iraq and Turkey.

The leader of the Iraqi team, in his address of reply, said that an early agreement would enable each country to plan its agricultural projects and base them on durable foundations.—INA.

SADDAM RECEIVES OUR ENVOY TO ITALY

Sd. Saddam Hussein, Vice Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council and Deputy Secretary General of the Regional Leadership of the Arab Baath Socialist Party yesterday afternoon received Sd. Taha Muhiddin Maroof, Iraq's Ambassador to Rome for half an hour.—INA.

MORE LOCAL NEWS ON PAGE 19

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Dr. Shawi and a number of college deans of the University of Basrah are to visit Poland by the middle of next month at the invitation of Professor Stalinski.—INA.

SADAT GETS MESSAGES FROM SHAH AND HEATH

IN BRIEF

General Humad Shehab, Member of the RCC and Minister of Defence yesterday morning received Mr. Arkhibov, First Deputy to the Chairman of the State Foreign Relations Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers who was accompanied by the Soviet Military Attaché.

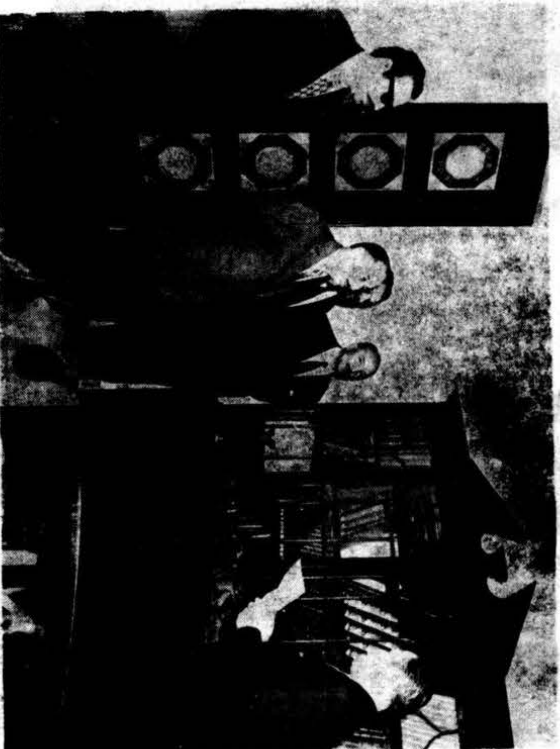
General Shehab warmly welcomed Mr. Arkhibov and highly praised fruitful cooperation between the two friendly countries.

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TAAQ HONOURS ABSP AND KDP DELEGATIONS TO SOVIET CONGRESS

Sd. Saleh Taqa, the Iraqi Ambassador to Morocco, on Monday evening gave a reception party at the Embassy House in honour of the delegation of the Arab Baath Socialist Party and the delegation of the Kurdistan Democratic Party to the 24th congress of the Soviet Communist Party.

IZZU TO LAY 2 FOUNDATION STONES TODAY

Sd. Adnan Ayyoub Sabri al-Izzi, Minister of Communications is today laying the foundation stones to the Central Telephone Building and the building of the Telecommunications Centre in Baghdad. The foundation stones ceremony is part of the celebrations marking the 24th Anniversary of the founding of the Arab Baath Socialist Party. The two buildings are estimated to cost ID. 500,000. — IMA.

The Baath Party delegation is led by Comrade Abdul Kader al-Samarre, Member of the National and Regional Leadership of the Party, and the delegation of the Kurdistan Democratic Party by Sd. Dara Tawfiq, Member of the Party's Politbureau.

Guests at the party included Mr. Shakhov, Chairman of State Foreign Economic Relations, Vice-Chairman of the Department of International Relations of the Soviet Communist Party, a number of officials of the Central Committee and the Soviet Foreign Ministry, and some delegates to the party's 24th conference. Also present was Sd. Abdul Fattah Ismail, Secretary-General of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Sd. Ali Nasser, Minister of Defence of Democratic Yemen, and a number of ambassadors of Arab and friendly countries. — IMA.

FIRST AIR INDIA AIRLINER LANDS AT B.I.A.

The first Air India airliner to operate on the New Delhi-Baghdad service landed at the Baghdad International Airport yesterday. The airliner, a Boeing 707, carried 188 Indian passengers who are coming to Iraq to visit the Holy Shrines. Air India will now operate regular flights between New Delhi and Baghdad.

The Iraqi Airways is already operating weekly services between Baghdad and New Delhi. — IMA.

HUWAZI INSPECTS PUBLIC POULTRY CO.

Sd. Nafeth Jalal Huwazi, Minister of Agriculture yesterday inspected the Public Poultry Company and vegetable stands in different parts of the capital. The minister who was accompanied by Sd. Hashim al-Izzi, Acting Chairman of the State Organisation of Agricultural Development, obtained first-hand information on matters of public interest during the tour which lasted for two hours.

It will be recalled that the Fruits and Vegetables Marketing Administration has recently imported quantities of vegetables and fruits and put them to the market to be retailled at reasonable prices. — IMA.

NEW JORDAN ENVOY PRESENTS PAPERS TO U THANT

United Nations, Tuesday. Jordan's new Ambassador to the United Nations, Babekhan Togan, yesterday presented his letters of credence to U Thant, the U.N. Secretary-General. He succeeds Dr. Mohammad al-Faraj, who has been appointed Ambassador to Madrid.

Sd. Togan had been ambassador to the U.N. some years ago. He also served as ambassador to Britain for some time. — IMA.

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The first utilization of re today.

The Iraqi herd is led by Dr. Nader, Chairman of the Research Office of the Ministry of Education and the by Dr. Nooraddin the College of the University. In his opening leader of the Syr he hoped the new sales would lead after solution interests of both

MORE L NEWS PAGE

BASRAH POLIS UNIVERS SIGN AC

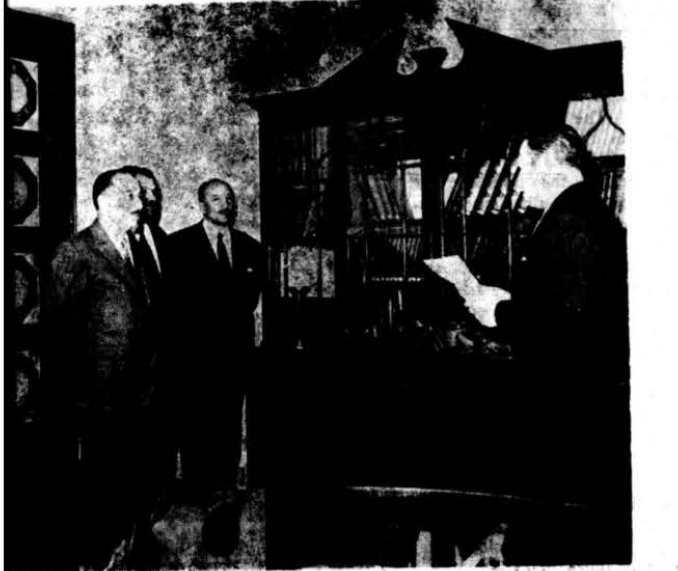
A cultural agreement yesterday signed between the University of Basra and the Polish University. The agreement was signed by Dr. Shawi, President of the University of Basra, and Sd. Shalinski, President of the Polish University. It provides among other things for granting ten students to study at the University of Basra.

Dr. Shawi and college deans of Basra are to be invited by the Ministry of Education to study at the University of Basra.

\$ADAT MESSAGES SHAH AN

President Ahmad al-Izzi yesterday sent two messages, one to the Shah of Iran and the other to the British Ambassador in Baghdad. The Shah of Iran and the British Ambassador are reported to be in Baghdad. It will be recalled that the Shah of Iran is in Baghdad for a visit. The Shah's messages were sent to the British Ambassador in Baghdad. — IMA.

members of to the Kadhemiyah district of count of the negligence of the officials concerned. Work on the project began in earnest only on December 18 last.—INA.



and Hassan al-Bakr received the letters of credence of the new Hungarian People's Republic at the Presidential Palace at noon yesterday. The presentation ceremony was held by Sd. Abdul Karim al-Sheikhly, Member of the Foreign Minister and Sd. Yehya Yaseen, Head of the Office of the Republic. — INA

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It will be recalled that the Fruits and Vegetables Marketing Administration has recently imported quantities of vegetables and fruits and put them to the market to be retailed at reasonable prices. —INA.

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United Nations, Tuesday. Jordan's new Ambassador to the United Nations, Bahaeddin Toqan, yesterday presented his letters of credence to U Thant, the U.N. Secretary-General. He succeeds Dr. Mohammed al-Farra, who has been appointed Ambassador to Madrid. Sd. Toqan had been ambassador to the U.N. some years ago. He also served as ambassador to Britain for some time. — INA.

Dr. Lamees al-Qaraghouli, newly appointed Director General of the Iraqi (Real Estate) Bank also signed the visitors book offering thanks to the President for appointing him to this post.

Poet Omar abu Risha also signed the visitors book on the occasion of his current visit to Baghdad.

IRAQI-SYRIAN TALKS ON EUPHRATES WATERS OPEN IN DAMASCUS

Damascus, Tuesday.

The first round of official Iraqi-Syrian talks on the utilization of the Euphrates river waters opened up here today.

The Iraqi negotiating team led by Dr. Naji Abdul Qader, Chairman of the Scientific Research Organisation at the Ministry of Higher Education and the Syrian team in his address of reply, said by Dr. Nooriddin al-Rafaie of the College of Engineering, the University of Damascus.

In his opening address, the leader of the Syrian team said he hoped the new Iraqi proposals would lead to the sought-after solution serving well the interests of both sisterly countries. He hoped that a fair division of the river's waters will be arrived at by Syria, Iraq and Turkey. The leader of the Iraqi team, in his address of reply, said that an early agreement would enable each country to plan its agricultural projects and base them on durable foundations.—INA.

MORE LOCAL NEWS ON PAGE 19

BASRAH AND POLISH UNIVERSITIES SIGN ACCORD

A cultural agreement was yesterday signed between the University of Basrah and the Polish University of Dabik. The agreement was signed on board the yacht Al-Thawra cruising the Shatt al-Arab. It was signed by Dr. Nazar al-Shawi, President of the University of Basrah and Professor Stalinski, President of the Polish University. The agreement provides among other things for granting ten fellowships to University of Basrah students to study at the Polish University.

Dr. Shawi and a number of college deans of the University of Basrah are to visit Poland by the middle of next month at the invitation of Professor Stalinski. — INA.

SADAT GETS MESSAGES FROM SHAH AND HEATH Cairo, Tuesday.

...President Anwar al-Sadat of the UAR yesterday received two messages, one from the Shah of Iran and the other from the British Prime Minister Edward Heath. Both are reported to deal with the situation in the Arab region.

It will be recalled that on March 15 President Sadat sent out messages to French, Soviet and American officials. President Sadat is reported to be planning to send a reply to the Shah's message through the Iranian Ambassador to Cairo. — INA.

SADDAM RECEIVES OUR ENVOY TO ITALY

Sd. Saddam Hussein, Vice Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council and Deputy Secretary General of the Regional Leadership of the Arab Baath Socialist Party yesterday afternoon received Sd. Taha Muhiddin Maroof, Iraq's Ambassador to Rome for half an hour.—INA.

IN BRIEF

General Hamad Shehab, Member of the ROC and Minister of Defence yesterday morning received Mr. Arkhibov, First Deputy to the Chairman of the State Foreign Relations Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers who was accompanied by the Soviet Military Attache.

General Shehab warmly welcomed Mr. Arkhibov and highly praised fruitful cooperation between the two friendly countries.

Present at the meeting which lasted over one hour, was the Chief of Staff, the Commander of the Air Force and the Assistant to the Chief of Staff. — INA.

PRISONERS IN OCCUPIED LAND GO ON STRIKE

Amman, Tuesday.

Inmates of prisons in the occupied territories are to go on strike as from today in protest against ill-treatment. According to reports received here from the occupied territory the inmates are demanding the release of detainees who have been held without trial and improving prison conditions. — INA.

Aysami's reminiscences on birth of Baath Party

- PARTY'S BIRTH WAS THE RESULT OF CLEAR AND COHERENT REVOLUTIONARY VISION
- PARTY'S DECLARATION OF WAR ON ALL PAROCHIAL, BOURGEOIS AND REACTIONARY STREAKS
- The way the Party evolved its ideology

By ADIL MEHDI HUSSEIN

Comrade Shibly al-Aysami, Assistant Secretary-General of the Arab Baath Socialist Party has stated that the de facto birth of the Arab Baath Socialist Party came no less than six years ahead of the de jure birth.

Comrade Aysami, who was speaking in an exclusive interview on the anniversary of the party's founding, said: "Although the party started off its onward march in the early 40s, mustering only a few comrades and concentrating on preaching and crystallizing its ideologies and objectives, it was quick to realise that the deepening, developing and bringing to maturity such ideologies and objectives fundamentally rested on maintaining everyday struggle. One can therefore assume that the party's ideology was the by-product of intellectual maturity, good knowledge of contemporary revolutionary movements side by side with full awareness of the realities of the Arab society and continuing up the struggle among the masses with the object of changing the face of the Arab society had been plagued with stagnation and backwardness. Over and above all this, the party's ideology stemmed from clear coherent revolutionary vision."



Comrade AYSAMI

"One does well remember here that the period of the 40s was marked with rampant factionalism and fragmentation, prevalent parochial logic, and the predominance of organisations with localist outlooks such as the PPS, and the advocates of Phoenicianism and Pharaohism, etc. There were also the organisations slighting the idea of Arab nationalism, assailing it and dismissing it as a passing notion and the by-product of reactionary and chauvinistic bourgeois thought — such as the Communist parties at the time. Besides, there were the organisations with a religious colour whose advocacies went beyond the borders of the Arab homeland such as the Moslem Brotherhood. In addition to all of this, there also existed the local political parties representing the ruling bourgeois factions colliding with imperialism and tied up to world capitalism. When we bear in mind all the above facts, we will at once perceive the dimensions brought up by the birth of the Arab Baath Socialist Party at that epoch."

Comrade Aysami said that during the stage in question, the Party concentrated its

Comrade Aysami next answered a question on the extent of the doctrinal and ideological revolution of the party since it came into being. He said: "It is a foregone conclusion that ideology, in order to be scientific, revolutionary and fit for survival, must emanate from the realities of life and physical struggle. As I have just said the party's ideology was born in the welter of struggle and in conditions of close

knowledge of the contemporary revolutionary movements. Without doubt, the party has managed, across its long march, to develop its ideology and its concepts of political and organisational mass work. Right from the beginning the party came as the antithesis of localist and un-nationalist streaks and laid special stress on Arab unity as the practical embodiment of its nationalist ideology. The party held that unity, in order to be positive and effective, should have a democratic socialist substance. Besides, the party pointedly noted that socialism adopted on local basis cannot bear the fruits expected of it and must therefore assume a pan-Arab framework. For this matter, socialism should also go concomitantly with democracy which releases the masses from their shackles and sets free their suppressed energies thereby enriching unity and socialism."

Comrade Aysami went on to say that the party has all along firmly believed that unity, liberty and socialism were three sides of one truth, the truth of the contemporary Arab revolution.

Comrade Aysami added: "The party has realised that from the beginning the hazards of continuing with the twisted and misleading political tactics that had been pursued by the then ruling factions and political organisations. Consequently, the party set forth combating those tactics and adopted a new principle in political action based on the postulate that the end does not justify the means as well as on absolute faith in the masses and their formidable energies. It also considered half solutions and partial reforms as futile in the corrupt circumstances that were then prevailing and came to the conclusion that a revolutionary path should be adopted by which the masses would be released with as both a means and an end at one and the same time."

Comrade Aysami carefully pointed out that this revolutionary course must in no way be confused with the military coups d'etat which became frequent in the period following

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THE A.B.S.P CONSTITUTION

's reminiscences on birth Baath Party

AS THE RESULT OF CLEAR AND
REVOLUTIONARY VISION
ATION OF WAR ON ALL PAROCHIAL,
AND REACTIONARY STREAKS

Party evolved its ideology

ADIL MEHDI HUSSEIN

Aysami, Assistant Secretary-General of the Arab Baath Party, stated that the de facto birth of the Arab Baath Party was more than six years ahead of the de jure birth. He was speaking in an exclusive interview on the founding, said: "Although the party started off its 40s, mustering only a few comrades and concentrating its ideologies and objectives, it was deepening, developing and bringing to maturity its fundamental tenets on maintaining every-thing before assume that the party's ideology was the maturity, good knowledge of contemporary revolution side with full awareness of the realities of the Arab society had been plagued with stagnation. Over and above all this, the party's ideology stems from revolutionary vision."

goals on the slogans of unity, liberty and socialism. With the passage of time the party succeeded in making of those slogans a pressing mass demand. He added: "The above-mentioned slogans have assumed special significance from associating them one with another considering them as one indivisible whole free from all contradictions. Those slogans became circulated among the Arab masses and some other political organisations. That was because the slogans faithfully and deeply reflected the hopes and longings of the Arab nation in this historic epoch and gave expression to its burning desire to achieve rebirth."

Comrade Aysami next answered a question on the extent of the doctrinal and ideological evolution of the party since it came into being. He said: "It is a foregone conclusion that ideology, in order to be scientific, revolutionary and fit for survival, must emanate from the realities of life and physical struggle. As I have just said the party's ideology was born in the welter of struggle and in conditions of close

knowledge of the contemporary revolutionary movements. Without doubt, the party has managed, across its long march, to develop its ideology and its concepts of political and organisational mass work. Right from the beginning the party came as the antithesis of localist and un-nationalist streaks and laid special stress on Arab unity as the practical embodiment of its nationalist ideology. The party held that unity, in order to be positive and effective, should have a democratic socialist substance. Besides, the party pointedly noted that socialism adopted on local basis cannot bear the fruits expected of it and must therefore assume a pan-Arab framework. For this matter, socialism should also go concomitantly with democracy which releases the masses from their shackles and sets free their suppressed energies thereby enriching unity and socialism."

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Comrade Aysami carefully pointed out that this revolutionary course must in no way be confused with the military coups d'etat which became frequent in the period following

the 40s. He added: "In its latest conferences, the party has been laying stress on the necessity of turning towards the toiling masses from among workers and peasants in executing revolutionary work. The party has also been underscoring reliance on the creation of a united front on both home and pan-Arab levels so the party could face up to the fierce onslaught launched by Zionism, imperialism and Arab reaction. This is more so in view of the fact that lately some Arab politicians have become vocal in their advocacy of liquidationist and peaceful solutions for the Palestine issue which has been and still is the focal point of Arab sentiments and deep concern and which reflects the most outrageous forms of oppression and aggression meted out by Zionism and world imperialism."

Next, Comrade Aysami spoke of the importance of the theory embedded in the party's historic slogan 'one Arab nation with an immortal mission'. He said: "The first part of this slogan represents one of the basic tenets of the Arab nation and points out that fragmentation is a passing phenomenon brought about by ages of backwardness and the hegemony of western imperialism. As to the second part 'with an immortal mission', it can simply be stated that the purpose is to underline the role which the Arab nation played and stands to play in contributing to human civilization. This nation, with a glorious record, has, across the ages contributed to the civilization of mankind. Ancient civilisations succeeding one another since the days of the ancient Egyptians, the Babylonians, the Phoenicians and the Arameans and later the Arabs and Moslems, all confirm the ability of this nation to give and to contribute to the development of human civilization. More important still is the fact that this mission by the Arab nation

(Continued on page 16)

B.S.P CONSTITUTION

Socialist Party is a
Popular, Nationalist

1 — The freedom of speech, assembly, belief and art to be sacred and inviolable by any authority.

Accordingly, the Arab Baath Socialist Party holds that:

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Socialist Party came no less than six years ahead of the de jure Arab.

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Comrade Aysami said that during the stage in question, the Party concentrated its

goals on the slogans of unity, liberty and socialism. With the passage of time the party succeeded in making of those slogans a pressing mass demand. He added: "The above-mentioned slogans have assumed special significance from associating them one with another considering them as one and indivisible whole free from all contradictions. Those slogans became circulated among the Arab masses and some other political organisations. That was because the slogans faithfully and deeply reflected the hopes and longings of the Arab nation in this historic epoch and gave expression to its burning desire to achieve rebirth."

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THE A.B.S.P. CONSTITUTION

The Arab Baath Socialist Party is a Revolutionary, Popular, Nationalist Movement struggling for Arab Unity, Liberty and Socialism

FIRST PRINCIPLE: UNITY AND LIBERTY OF THE ARAB NATION.

The Arabs are one nation that has the natural right to live in one state and be free in directing its destinies.

Accordingly, the Arab Baath Socialist Party, holds to the following postulates:

- 1 — The Arab homeland is an indivisible politico-economic unit. None of the Arab countries can attain to the full requisites of national life independent from the rest.
- 2 — The Arab nation is a

cultural unity and all existing differences are of a passing nature that is bound to disappear by the wakefulness of Arab conscience.

- 3 — The Arab homeland belongs to the Arabs and they alone have the right to decide on its affairs and riches and direct its destinies.

SECOND PRINCIPLE: PERSONALITY OF THE ARAB NATION

The Arab nation possesses characteristic merits revealing themselves in its successive resurgences. This nation is marked with richness of vitality and creativity, and propensity for rejuvenation and rebirth.

Its rebirth always goes hand in hand with the growth of the freedom of the individual and the extent of harmony between the individual and national interests.

Thus being so, the Arab Baath Socialist Party holds that:

- 1 — The freedom of assembly, belief and sacred and inviolable authority.

- 2 — The value of men — who have been equal opportunities — assured by the work of the way of promoting advance and prosperity of Arab nation regardless of other consideration.

THIRD PRINCIPLE: MISSION OF ARAB NATION

The Arab nation is an immortal mission. It appears in rejuvenated form at various stages of history. Its mission aims at rejuvinating human values, stimulating advancement and achieving harmony and unity among nations.

than six years ahead of the de jure birth. was speaking in an exclusive interview on the founding, said: "Although the party started off its 40s, mustering only a few comrades and concentrating its ideologies and objectives, it was opening, developing and bringing to maturity lives fundamentally rested on maintaining ever before assume that the party's ideology was the maturity, good knowledge of contemporary revolutionary side with full awareness of the realities of the struggle among the masses with the of the Arab society had been plagued with stagnation. Over and above all this, the party's ideology stated revolutionary vision."

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(Continued on page 16)

B.S.P CONSTITUTION

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That's being so, the Arab Baath Socialist Party holds that:

1 — The freedom of speech, assembly, belief and art to be sacred and inviolable by any authority.

2 — The value of countrymen — who have been offered equal opportunities — is measured by the work they do in the way of promoting the advance and prosperity of the Arab nation regardless of any other consideration.

THIRD PRINCIPLE: MISSION OF THE ARAB NATION

The Arab nation is one with an immortal mission that appears in rejuvenated forms at various stages of history. This mission aims at rejuvenating human values, stimulating man's advancement and developing harmony and cooperation among nations.

Accordingly, the Arab Baath Socialist Party holds that:

1 — Imperialism and all that is related to it constitute something criminal which the Arabs must combat with all the means at their disposal while working within the limits of their material and moral possibilities to help all people struggling for freedom.

2 — Humanity is a mutually cooperative whole with common values and culture. The Arabs, therefore, feed world civilisation and are fed by it: they stretch out the hand of brotherhood to all other nations and cooperate with them for bringing up just institutions guaranteeing to all people prosperity, peace and loftiness in ethics and spirit.

(Continued on page 16)

FROM APRIL 7, 1947 TO MARCH 1967

AN IMPORTANT LANDMARK IN THE LIFE OF THE PARTY AND MASSES

Our revolutionary vanguards today greet the anniversary of the founding of their Party: the Arab Baath Socialist Party. This day, back in 1947, there convened the constituent conference of the Party with the avowed objective of changing the face of our backward society and bringing it in line with the spirit of the age and with the requirements of the struggling Arab masses.

The basic tenets — both in ideology and practice — side by side with the revolutionary struggle mounted by the Party throughout the length and breadth of the great Arab homeland have borne out the originality and soundness of the foundations on which the Party's ideology has been based. In that way, Arab struggle was given the opportunity to hew its natural course by welding together the struggling masses and the goals in which the Party has believed.

Anyone who, reviews the Party's history is bound to be dazzled by the numerous inst-

those accomplishments presuppose the fostering of relations between the Party and its masses.

On April 7, 1947, the Party stemmed from the incontestable **PREMISE**, namely that at the masses of the Arab nation constitute the only force capable of effecting changes and the quarter which has the highest stake in every revolutionary change. This premise has now been borne out by facts of life and by blazing struggle.

The Arab people, which is at the same time the means and the end to the Revolution, has reflected the Party's compre-

and a faithful pursuit of revolutionary action as a means of attaining to its goals and maintaining everyday contacts with the masses of the Arab nation. Those qualities were at the same time a stimulus to the firmness and courage of the Baathist — distinct characteristics that laid open the doors of history to him

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE BAAH ARE THE REFLEX OF ITS IDEOLOGY

The Baath Party was never one day a traditional political party using slogans as political expediences. Nor did it ever hold its mission to be a passing one, or that the Party has been conceived for dealing with one specific issue.

From the very beginning, the Party believed that its assignments and its very being were part and parcel of the ambitions and needs of the Arab masses, and thus its presence was necessary as long as the masses of the Arab nation continued to struggle for the ideal future. Stemming from this premise, the Party proceeded to cement the Arab Revolution and push it along ever widening avenues.

This must not be taken to mean that the Party had overlooked the particular problems of each country of our great Arab homeland from a revolutionary angle, by putting it in its proper nationalist perspective.

THE ACHIEVEMENTS of the Party and those to which it contributed are great and important. Coming at the top, in both chronological order and order of precedence, it has been the accentuation of the progressive nationalist Arab Revolution as the only stepping-stone for dealing with the contemporary problems of our masses.

In other words, the first and most important gain has been to **CONVERT THE MASSES**

President

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Comrade Saddam Hussein with Sd. Mustafa al-Barzani, in North Iraq.

ances of splendour which have rejuvenated the features of Arab struggle and charted its course. That was so notwithstanding the reverses encountered by that struggle — reverses which introduced a hodgepodge of courses totally alien to the Party's spirit and revolutionary values.

While the Party does not claim to be completely safe from the maladies or mistakes that attended its growth, it has, undoubtedly, managed to convert such maladies and mis-

nsion of two basic tenets of its character which distinguished it from other contemporary movements throughout the Arab homeland.

These two characteristics have to do **FIRST** with the fact that the Arab Baath Socialist Party is a nationalist party, and **SECONDLY** with the fact that it is a progressive revolutionary party.

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APRIL 7, 1947 TO MARCH 11, 1970

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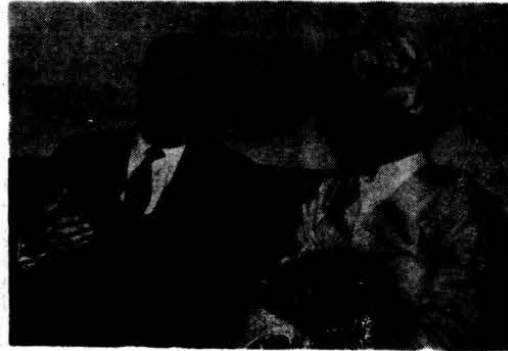
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nts of elegant offices — converting those masses from a trump card in the hands of the brokers of the political stock-exchange into an effective means for changing Arab society and releasing the energies of the liberated Arab person.

Along the road of the revolutionary advance the accomplishments of the Baath Party were **MIGHTY AND SUCCESSFUL**. As such, the progressive Arab revolutionary struggle has become a force to be reckoned with by all other political forces, inimical or not.

The Arab Baath Socialist Party has not confined itself to the presentation of revolutionary concepts, but also fully participated in attaining to the most important gains for the Arab masses when it assumed leading positions in the prosecution of Arab struggle.

The instances bearing evidence to this are myriad; shining with splendour among them was the achievement of the pioneering unity and the social, economic and political gains secured to the masses by the progressive nationalist July 17 Revolution in Iraq.

THE MARCH 11 MANIFESTO: ONE OF THE HARVESTS OF APRIL

It is common knowledge that the harvest of the July 17 Revolution has been an abundant one in both quality and quantity. That was made possible since the revolutionary vanguards carried out their uprising of July 30 against the attempts made to outflank the Revolution and strangle its aspirations.

It goes without saying that all of that good harvest has been in the interest of the toil-

ing masses, the pan-Arab Revolution and humanity's just struggle.

The settlement of the **KURDISH ISSUE** in a peaceful and democratic manner should, however, come in the forefront of those accomplishments. Without doubt, it was one of the factors producing beneficial effects in favour of the Arab struggle and the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

Although our people are still living the ecstasy produced by that major triumph, it is still possible to fathom the real dimensions of that solution which put an end to a thorny problem. Given objectivity in analysis, one can give a picture of those dimensions based on the historic realities of our people in Iraq and of the Arab people as a whole.

The **SETTLEMENT** of the Kurdish issue comes in the forefront of the historic accomplishments achieved by the Arab Baath Socialist Party. It has stopped the draining of the country's blood and economy — a draining which imperialism figured up could, if continued, hold the Arab Revolution at bay and throw it into utter confusion.

The settlement also came at a moment when the Arab nation has been passing through a delicate stage requiring the concentration of all its energies for the fateful battle lying ahead. Moreover, the settlement stemmed from the historic fact which confirmed the welding together of the Arab and Kurdish masses in one common destiny.

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On this anniversary, when our masses beheld the brilliant successes and magnificent accomplishments achieved by the Party, they must not try to rest on their laurels, assume stances of arrogance or claim that the heavens have conferred supernatural powers upon the Party. It must at once be realised that all the above-mentioned victories were scored by the Party for the Arab masses with the struggle of the masses themselves.

NATIONALISM, as the Party understands it, is the incarnation of revolution, democracy and socialism. Besides, socialism and liberty will remain two hypotheses far removed from reality unless they be wedded to the struggle for the achievement of nationalist conditions for the Arab person. It was from those TWO TRUTHS that the Party got moving. The strategy of its revolutionary work stemmed from its humane nationalist ideology. With that, strategy has been deepening and enriching its nationalist humane ideology. Right from the first state of the Party's growth, it became manifestly clear that the Party is the organism on furly qualified to come to grips with all problems and challenges facing the Arab person.

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Arabs and Kurds celebrate



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That formula, more than anything else, has driven a wedge in the body of the counter-revolution, which betrayed its backwardness in a manner that gave the masses the opportunity to press on with the nationalist progressive struggle. What was particularly remarkable was that the settlement of this thorny issue, whose complications the Party had inherited and for which it was



Arabs and Kurds celebrate Peace Day

(Continued on page 18)

BEGINNINGS BAATH MOVEMENT

COMMUNAL ARAB IS ROAD OF STRUGGLE

The movement got off to a start not as a political number of men who then proceeded to fit goals, but rather as an idea, a spirit and a movement began as a manifestation of longings to set foot on the road of the revolution, out of the stony of a nation. That combination of idea, time to have the framework capable of bearing organisation capable of bringing it into reality.

intended that work for the ideology should measure up to the ideology itself.

The movement realised that political organisation constituted an inseparable part of its ideology and that, accordingly, this organisation should be a full reflex of the ideology reflecting its vigour, originality and capacity to expand, grow and endure. As it were, this political work came to reflect the features of the ideology right from the beginning

In that way, the party organisation began to grow among the masses and group around it the popular elements and drive out the elements alien to the people and lacking in the spirit of struggle for the people, including in the forefront the reactionary feudal and exploiting capitalist elements.

The top, prominent aspect of the Party was that it represented the popular section

This is a reactionary-feudalist-separatist composition that paralyzes Arab energies and prevents any forward advance.

The need has therefore been felt for changing that structure and converting the Arab society from a backward, divided and enslaved society dominated by an exploiting minority — a parasitical minority conspiring with imperialism to perpetuate the society's backwardness and enslavement — into a developing, united and free society with a just distribution of revenues and reunion with the paths that had been carved out from its body.

Such a revolutionary ideology seeking to change the society must have a matching party organisation. That is why the Party has adopted for itself a revolutionary organisation.

It was only natural that such an organisation be based on proven revolutionary elements to whom corruption is pure anathema and who have always been holding the view that assuming silence towards corruption means being an accomplice in the crime against the Arab nation and against humanity at large.

That being so, it was the unchangeable objective of political party organisation

POPULAR PARTICIPATION AND FIRM POPULAR SUPERVISION.

For this reason, too, the Party's organisation assumed an unmistakable democratic character where there can be no place for one-sidedness or one-man hegemony, nor for rigid military setup.

The Party's structure is a practical manifestation of political democracy as seen by it. It is a structure that rises from the base to the top, and not the other way round, and in which there is constant give and take between the base and the top. Further, it is a structure controlled not by individuals but by an elective group leadership; through it runs a chain of elected leaderships that, in the end, submit to the will of the Party's members.

This democratic organisation is not, however, of the fluid type that gives democracy a chaotic appearance and brings weakness to it; it is rather a genuine democratic system embodying subordination to party discipline so far as this discipline emanates from a collective democratic will.

This democratic organisation, reflecting deep faith in man and respect for the views and energies of the individual was one of the major factors of the Party's expansion and growth.

There are absolutely no barriers between any member of the Party and any person in the Leadership. Exchange of views and spiritual contact between the Leadership and the base continue unabated; and it is from this that the Leadership derives the significance of its struggle and the direction of its endeavours.

It is no exaggeration to say that the Leadership is constantly aware of the wishes and queries of the members, while the members can always inform themselves of the opinion and trends of the Leadership whether by the Party's transmission line or by direct contacts. Criticism and self-criticism are, therefore, among the prominent features of the Party's life. In this process the Party verifies the soundness of its plans.

The democracy assumed by Party members is one of the original aspects of the Party's popular composition that is far removed from anything that has to do with corruption. Neither are there any restrictive measures or boasts or empty claims; rather, complete



and display its organisational and reflected their struggle against the exploiting factions that held absolute sway over the country during the first period of the rise of the Party.

I — THE BAATH IDEOLOGY HAS BEEN NECESSARILY A POPULAR ONE.

II — THE PARTY'S IDEOLOGY HAS BEEN A REVOLUTIONARY ONE BELIEV

to gather round it truly revolutionary elements and deepen their revolutionary spirit through training and being steeled in the fire of struggle mounted against the corrupt conditions.

It has always been the Party's concern to train its mem

The Arab Baath movement got off to a start not as a political action sponsored by a number of men who then proceeded to fit it with substance and goals, but rather as an idea, a spirit and a mission. That movement began as a manifestation of longings to effect a change and set foot on the road of the revolution, out of realisation of the destiny of a nation. That combination of ideas, spirit and mission came to have the framework capable of bearing it and the political organisation capable of bringing it into reality.

The founders of the movement never arranged conferences with the object of founding a political party or a political movement whose affairs should be directed by persons of varying trends and leanings, with the object of building a lifeless formal structure. Rather, the idea — which has been seething in Arab consciousness, awaking someone to bring up and put it into effect — became an obsession to a handful of men absorbing their entire energies and nerves, giving them a sense of drive and, little by little, polarizing around them all others with inherent comprehension of the exaltation of Arab existence and readiness to bear the banner of the Arab nation.

At the beginning the Party's work was confined to a process of exploration and generalisation — exploring the hard-core nucleus capable of deep association with the essence of the mission dictated by the Arab existence and fit to bear the onerous burden of this huge mission.

THE NUCLEUS began growing day after day. Responding to the call of the Arab nation was the rampant which possessed enough maturity, forbidding and loftiness of character to have a go at the formidable forces of corruption which reigned supreme as a result of generations of backwardness and imperialism.

Before long that infant movement came to realize that it had no chance of attaining to its long-term objectives without a political organisation worthy of its ideas and capable of putting theory into practice and founding the organised popular instrument for its development and improvement.

Right from the beginning, it realised that the nationalist ideas must find its way into life and practice and that a mature ideology needed an organised instrument to bring it into play. From this premise the movement embarked upon party organisation.

If, should, however, be noted that, with the Arab Baath Socialist Party, political organisation did not preclude or supersede the ideology; rather it was its servant and instrument. Further, the ideology of the Arab Baath Socialist Party was not left alone to gather intellectual support in haphazard manner. Rather, it was

intended that work for the ideology should measure up to the ideology itself.

The movement realised that political organisation constituted an inseparable part of its ideology and that, accordingly, this organisation should be a full reflex of the ideology, reflecting its vigour, originality and capacity to expand, grow and endure. As it were,

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It was only natural that an organisation that had proven revolutionary to whom corruption, alienation and who had been holding the victimising silence towards them means being a place in the crime Arab nation and solidarity at large.

and display its organisational facet.

That was because it reflected the will of the million of the people and because it sprang from the ranks of the deprived masses and was

In essence, a revolution against the exploiting minority and all other forces which seek to keep the people in a state of ignorance and deprivation, preventing the budding of their energies and their contribution to the building of the pan-Arab structure and pan-Arab civilization.

Naturally, the party organisation for this ideology should have been of a popular character aiming for massing up the energies of the people and grouping together the broad deprived masses for the sake of attaining to unity, liberty and socialism — their major goals.

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II — THE PARTY'S IDEOLOGY HAS BEEN A REVOLUTIONARY ONE BELIEVING ONLY IN RADICAL SOLUTIONS.

To this ideology, the rampant corruption in the Arab world cannot be treated by half measures or passing reforms. The whole structure must be changed upside down and inside out. Something drastic is needed to eradicate corruption — branch and root.

The Party has long believed that any major reform is meaningless and must inevitably deviate from its appointed course because of the other ailments hanging around it. One must, therefore, go to the root of trouble — which is none other than the social, economic and national composition of the society.

to gather round it revolutionary elements

pen their revolution through training; selected in the fire fight mounted against rupt conditions.

It has always been the concern of trainers on hard struggle, revolutionary strife, up to the standard thereby preventing coming to terms with conditions.

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The democracy assumed by Party members is one of the original aspects of the Party's popular composition that is far removed from anything that has to do with corruption. Neither are there any restrictive measures or boasts or empty claims; rather, complete equality and mutual self-respect.

Numerous parties that have arisen in the Arab world had tried to compensate by affection and bogus class spirit for lackluster ideology and make of party life something of a mystifying ritual. By contrast, the Arab Baath has confirmed itself as the party of ideology of potent influences, for good, of rationality and scientific spirit, and of the ideology that by its own standards needed an exterior factor. The Baath Party is the party of the popular group that is the real nucleus from any false appearance and ultimately based, to any new class spirit, or if it were within the Party itself.

(Continued on page 15)



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The Party has long believed that any major reform is not possible unless the forces of good and evil are not corruption.

III — THE PARTY'S IDEOLOGY WAS A DEMOCRATIC ONE BELIEVING IN FREEDOM AND OFFERING THE RIGHT CLIMATE FOR THE BIDDING OF CREATIVE POWERS AND CONSCIOUS

from the base to the top, and not the other way round, and in which there is constant give and take between the base and the top. Further, it is a structure controlled not by individuals but by an elective group leadership; through it runs a chain of elected leadership that, in the end, submit to the will of the Party's members.

This democratic organisation is not, however, of the fluid type that gives democracy a chaotic appearance and brings weakness to it; it is rather a genuine democratic system embodying subordination to party discipline so far as this discipline emanates from a collective democratic will.

The democratic organisation, reflecting deep faith in man and respect for the vigour and energies of the individual was one of the major factors of the Party's expansion and growth.

BAATH DEFINES STR

Important Resolutions passed by Party's 10th National Convention

"Masses of our struggling Arab nation!"

"The national conventions of the Arab Baath Socialist Party have been, across the Party's advance of struggle, major stop-stations where experiences of revolutionary work gather, the incentives of the ideological, political and social development of the Arab Revolution come forward and the features become clear of the scientific visibility of Arab realities and of the laws of their fundamental development within the framework of the progressive revolution of national liberation in the Third World and the socialist revolution as a whole. It was in the light of that consideration that the Tenth National Convention of the Party convened in Baghdad between March 1-10. The Convention stressed the necessity of solving the Kurdish issue in northern Iraq in a manner conforming with the humane dimension of the Baath Party's nationalist credo as well as with the requirements of the unity of struggle of the Arab and Kurdish masses for the achievement of their nationalist goals of liberation that place them in one line against the imperialistic-Zionist-conspiracy coalition.

"The Tenth National Convention has demarcated the nature of the current stage of Arab conditions in the light of a comprehensive analysis of the political and class conditions in the Arab world. As a result, the Convention came to produce a strategy for Party, political and commando work.

"It was quite natural for the Convention to embark upon its work by addressing greetings to the Party strugglers in the territory of Iraq who, between the Ninth National Convention held in February 1968 and the Tenth National Convention, succeeded in detonating the July 17 Revolution and achieving important victories to Iraq and to the Arab nation. Coming at the top of these victories was the recognition of the German Democratic Republic and the Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam; the crushing of spies and conspiratorial attempts; heroic steadfastness in the face of imperialistic and reactionary pressures and inroads; resistance in the face of the Iranian invasion schemes and imperialistic influence in the Arab Gulf; promptness in supporting the two revolutions of Libya and Sudan; committing the Iraqi armed forces to serve the interests of commando work, offering constant and growing support to it and protecting it against attempts to encircle or impair it; offering material and moral support to the progressive Arab governments and to national liberation movements; bolstering national liberation movements in all three continents; pursuing a courageous national policy in the fields of the national exploitation of sulphur in cooperation with the People's Republic of Poland and the national and direct exploitation of oil in the Arab world.

set forms of unitary work and the liquidation of the residues of feudalism, bourgeoisie and backwardness within the framework of the dialectical comprehension of relationships between the nationalist factor and the socialist factor. The Convention pointedly stressed that the Party's political strategy cannot be but an application of its ideology in a phased-out plan marked with set and definitive conditions related to both time and place and taking into consideration the obtaining forms of external and internal strifes and the real weights of the political and social forces.

SECONDLY — THE NECESSITIES OF THE CURRENT STAGE.

"The Convention defined the present stage as one of confrontation with encountered challenges and of preparation for the coming battle with the Zionist-imperialistic aggression. The present stage was also considered a transitional one leading to a new plane of thought, action, planning and implementation characterised with revolutionary maturity and complete cohesion between nationalist liberation strife and class socialist strife. The Convention also affirmed that the stage of catastrophe has made of the rejection of regional fragmentation and of proceeding from the starting point of unity in the strategic sense, an objective need meeting the minimum of the requirements of Arab struggle against the Zionist-imperialistic-reactionary alignment. Further, it was made clear that the present stage is among the most revolutionary in the contemporary life of the Arabs; consequently, it is the stage of doctrinal strategic work and the stage characterised by the presence of revolutionary instruments capable of absorbing the defeat and of making theoretical planning and practical preparations for the battle in a manner assuring definite victory.

"The Convention, while analysing the contemporary Arab struggle, also emphasized that the nationalist liberation aspect and the class social aspect are two sides of one fact which the Arab Revolution is seeking out. The Convention came to the conclusion that the class analysis of the development of Arab revolutionary work in the pre-1967 catastrophe period has borne out the political analysis and the analysis of ideological and doctrinal currents marking that stage. The net result of the analysis in question was that the 5th of June (1967) spelled out the end of the era of the petit-bourgeoisie's leadership and marked the beginning of the era of the leadership of the revolutionary masses. This is the era of organised and planned strategic cohesion between these masses believing as they are in the Arab revolutionary ideology and the vanguard revolutionary forces, coherent in their composition and qualified to play, through the nationalist front, the role of the

over the regional movement of the strategy of goal of Arab struggle — work receptive of from release of the energies port of commando action rejection of all settlement the Palestine issue. That the creation of obstacles to the imperialistic-Zionist realisation of the program-Arab level. This is ces will be impotent to up for the battle as long as the splintered situation cert between the objectives of the framework of the

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On this basis of an of the nature of the ob- alist Convention proceed of the strategy of the

THIRDLY:

On the Party level tions on the following:

1 — Developing the party in a manner current revolutionary action and armed struggle its members.

2 — Deepening and transition to a new level outlook, and attention of delivering it from organisational errors.

3 — Devoting serious and to the achieving Party work in the object of realising the and enhancing its struggle with a comprehensive

4 — Defining the it might come to have in a balance between the Party on the one hand the circumstances of such due care to protecting

FOURTHLY:

On the pan-Arab (n tion passed resolutions

1 — Achieving full tegy on the one hand

10TH DEFINES STRATEGY

Adopted Resolutions by Party's 10th National Convention

over the regional mentality together with the achievement of the strategy of unity, both represent the main goal of Arab struggle — this being in addition to Party work receptive of frontal formulas and practices; the release of the energies of the toiling masses; the support of commando action and armed struggle and the rejection of all settlements seeking the liquidation of the Palestine issue. The Convention further stressed that the creation of objective conditions for facing up to the imperialistic-Zionist challenge presupposes the realisation of the progressive nationalist front on a pan-Arab level. This is because Arab revolutionary forces will be impotent to lead the masses and ready them up for the battle as long as they remain in their present splintered situation and if they fail to achieve concert between the objective and the subjective within the framework of the current stage.

"The Convention further came to the conclusion that the answer to the regional impulse arising from the state of fragmentation and to the non-unity conditions lies in a revolutionary unity where the nationalist factor becomes welded to its socialist democratic contents — not in a unity with an individualistic character or in a state of domineering or in a unity fraught with contradictions.

"The answer to the absence of strategy lies in strategic planning, not in settling down to tactics. Likewise, the answer to domineering impulses lies in a state of interaction between the revolutionary authorities and the masses and in practising popular democracy as distinct from proforma democracy given to serving the interests of the non-revolutionary classes. In the same vein, the answer to auctioneering lies not in biddings but rather in discovering the right equations.

On this basis of analytical processes and definition of the nature of the obtaining stage, the Tenth Nationalist Convention proceeded to lay down the broadlines of the strategy of the stage.

THIRDLY:

On the Party level, the Convention passed resolutions on the following:

1 — Developing the struggle and class edifice of the party in a manner answering the exigencies of the current revolutionary stage and making of commando action and armed struggle the main axis of the life of its members.

2 — Deepening and consolidating self-criticism for transition to a new level of party work, revolutionary outlook, and attention to party education with the intent of delivering it from the ideological, political and organisational errors that marked the preceding stage.

3 — Devoting serious attention to Party up-bringing and to the achievement of the conditions of developing Party work in both theory and practice with the object of realising the oneness of the Party personality and enhancing its struggle and ethical character marked with a comprehensive scientific outlook.

4 — Defining the Party's position on any regime it might come to have in any given country by striking a balance between the independent character of the Party on the one hand and taking into consideration the circumstances of such a regime, on the other, with due care to protecting it against conspiracies.

FOURTHLY:

On the pan-Arab (nationalist) level, the Convention passed resolutions on the following:

1 — Achieving full ties between the political strategy on the one hand and the ideological framework of the Arab revolution on the other and opposing all endeavours to deviate or drop below this level.

2 — Reckoning with the achievement of unity as the effective factor for transition to the stage of serious confrontation with the Zionist-imperialistic aggression. Such unity must, in addition to unifying political, economic and cultural institutions, take care to unify the forces of Arab revolution within a nationalist frontal framework capable of leading the Arab masses in accordance with a political programme defining the requirements of confronting the imperialist-Zionist aggression.

set forms of unitary work and the liquidation of the residues of feudalism, bourgeoisie and backwardness within the framework of the dialectical comprehension of relationships between the nationalist factor and the socialist factor. The Convention pointedly stressed that the Party's political strategy cannot be but an application of its ideology in a phased-out plan marked with set and definitive conditions related to both time and place and taking into consideration the obtaining forms of external and internal strifes and the real weights of the political and social forces.

SECONDLY — THE NECESSITIES OF THE CURRENT STAGE.

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"The Convention further proved that the existing Arab political institutions have no way of gaining the confidence of Arab masses unless these institutions brought themselves to measure up to the new level dictated by the obtaining revolutionary stage and managed to rid themselves of the passive streaks of the preceding era. These streaks are summed up by resignation to the state of fragmentation; the predominance of regional mentality and bureaucratic usages; opposi-

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ness of the Arab Baath Socialist Party's advance of its where experiences of the incentives of the ideological development of the Arab features become clear Arab realities and of the development within the revolution of national and the socialist revolution light of that consideration of the Party convention of March 1-10. The Convention solving the Kurdish issue in conformity with the Baath Party's nationalist requirements of the unity of the masses for the achievement of liberation that the imperialistic-Zionist-

convention has demarcated the stage of Arab conditions in the analysis of the political Arab world. As a result, the strategy for Party, political

for the Convention to extending greetings to the Party of Iraq who, between the 10th and 12th of February 1968 and 1969, succeeded in detonating the achieving important victory. Coming at the top cognition of the German Revolutionary Government crushing of spies and conspiracies in the face of pressures and invasions; Iranian invasion schemes of the Arab Gulf; prompt revolutions of Libya and armed forces to serve the offering constant and erecting it against attempts of material and moral Arab governments and to bolstering national liberation; pursuing a the fields of the national liberation with the People's national and direct exploitation the friendly Soviet in the fields of popular security for workers; nationalities and creation of the Kurdish revolution had also to greet with which the Arab the nationalist ordeal of the all encirclement at

passed by Party's 10th National Convention

"Masses of our struggling Arab nation"

"The national conventions of the Arab Baath Socialist Party have been, across the Party's advance of struggle, major stop-stations where experiences of revolutionary work gather, the incentives of the ideological, political and social development of the Arab Revolution come forward and the features become clear of the scientific visibility of Arab realities and of the laws of their fundamental development within the framework of the progressive revolution of national liberation in the Third World and the socialist revolution as a whole. It was in the light of that consideration that the Tenth National Convention of the Party convened in Baghdad between March 1-10. The Convention stressed the necessity of solving the Kurdish issue in northern Iraq in a manner conforming with the humane dimension of the Baath Party's nationalist credo as well as with the requirements of the unity of struggle of the Arab and Kurdish masses for the achievement of their nationalist goals of liberation that place them in one line against the imperialistic-Zionist conspiracy coalition.

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FIRSTLY — ON RELATIONS BETWEEN IDEOLOGY, STRATEGY AND TACTICS.

"The Convention stemmed from the premise of defining this relationship, and established distinction between the Party's long-term strategy which involves the building of the united democratic socialist Arab society (i.e. the achievement of the goals of unity, liberty and socialism) and the transitional strategies dealing with nationalist issues of destiny which demand actual and direct attitudes within the streamline of the general objectives of the Arab revolution. Among the issues covered in this category is the Palestine issue, the settler-invasion in the Arab Gulf, the creation of

set forms of unitary work and the liquidation of the residues of feudalism, bourgeoisie and backwardness within the framework of the dialectical comprehension of relationships between the nationalist factor and the socialist factor. The Convention pointedly stressed that the Party's political strategy cannot be but an application of its ideology in a phased-out plan marked with set and definitive conditions related to both time and place and taking into consideration the obtaining forms of external and internal strifes and the real weights of the political and social forces.

SECONDLY — THE NECESSITIES OF THE CURRENT STAGE.

"The Convention defined the present stage as one of confrontation with encountered challenges and of preparation for the coming battle with the Zionist-imperialistic aggression. The present stage was also considered a transitional one leading to a new plane of thought, action, planning and implementation characterised with revolutionary maturity and complete cohesion between nationalist liberation strife and class socialist strife. The Convention also affirmed that the stage of catastrophe has made of the rejection of regional fragmentation and of proceeding from the starting point of unity in the strategic sense, an objective need meeting the minimum of the requirements of Arab struggle against the Zionist-imperialistic-reactionary alignment. Further, it was made clear that the present stage is among the most revolutionary in the contemporary life of the Arabs; consequently, it is the stage of doctrinal strategic work and the stage characterised by the presence of revolutionary instruments capable of absorbing the defeat and of making theoretical planning and practical preparations for the battle in a manner assuring definite victory.

"The Convention, while analysing the contemporary Arab struggle, also emphasized that the nationalist liberation aspect and the class social aspect are two sides of one fact which the Arab Revolution is seeking out. The Convention came to the conclusion that the class analysis of the development of Arab revolutionary work in the pre-1967 catastrophe period has borne out the political analysis and the analysis of ideological and doctrinal currents marking that stage. The net result of the analysis in question was that the 5th of June (1967) spelled out the end of the era of the petit-bourgeoisie's leadership and marked the beginning of the era of the leadership of the revolutionary masses. This is the era of organised and planned strategic cohesion between these masses believing as they are in the Arab revolutionary ideology and the vanguard revolutionary forces, coherent in their composition and qualified to play, through the nationalist front conceived on a pan-Arab level, the leading role in Arab struggle.

"The Convention further proved that the existing Arab political institutions have no way of gaining the confidence of Arab masses unless these institutions brought themselves to measure up to the new level dictated by the obtaining revolutionary stage and managed to rid themselves of the passive streaks of the preceding era. These streaks are summed up by resignation to the state of fragmentation; the predominance of regional mentality and bureaucratic usages; opposition to revolutionary party set-up; settling down to outward support of armed struggle without affording it the real opportunity to develop into a true war of national liberation; stopping by the limits of mere verbal support of the working class without assuring to its struggle the conditions of growth and effective participation in leadership and using the scientific rejection of international formulas smacking of capitulation as a veneer to cover up their defeated attitudes.

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THIRDLY:

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FOURTHLY:

On the pan-Arab tion passed resolution

1 — Achieving tegy on the one hand of the Arab revolutionary endeavours to devise

2 — Reckoning the effective factor confrontation with Such unity must, in mic and cultural ins of Arab revolutionary network capable of dance with a political ments of confrontation

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by Party's 10th Annual Convention

release of the energies of the toiling masses; the support of commando action and armed struggle and the rejection of all settlements seeking the liquidation of the Palestine issue. The Convention further stressed that the creation of objective conditions for facing up to the imperialistic-Zionist challenge presupposes the realisation of the progressive nationalist front on a pan-Arab level. This is because Arab revolutionary forces will be impotent to lead the masses and ready them up for the battle as long as they remain in their present splintered situation and if they fail to achieve concert between the objective and the subjective within the framework of the current stage.

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On this basis of analytical processes and definition of the nature of the obtaining stage, the Tenth Nationalist Convention proceeded to lay down the broadlines of the strategy of the stage.

THIRDLY:

On the Party level, the Convention passed resolutions on the following:

- 1 — Developing the struggle and class edifice of the party in a manner answering the exigencies of the current revolutionary stage and making of commando action and armed struggle the main axis of the life of its members.
- 2 — Deepening and consolidating self-criticism for transition to a new level of party work, revolutionary outlook, and attention to party education with the intent of delivering it from the ideological, political and organisational errors that marked the preceding stage.
- 3 — Devoting serious attention to Party up-bringing and to the achievement of the conditions of developing Party work in both theory and practice with the object of realising the oneness of the Party personality and enhancing its struggle and ethical character marked with a comprehensive scientific outlook.
- 4 — Defining the Party's position on any regime it might come to have in any given country by striking a balance between the independent character of the Party on the one hand and taking into consideration the circumstances of such a regime, on the other, with due care to protecting it against conspiracies.

FOURTHLY:

On the pan-Arab (nationalist) level, the Convention passed resolutions on the following:

- 1 — Achieving full ties between the political strategy on the one hand and the ideological framework of the Arab revolution on the other and opposing all endeavours to deviate or drop below this level.
- 2 — Reckoning with the achievement of unity as the effective factor for transition to the stage of serious confrontation with the Zionist-imperialistic aggression. Such unity must, in addition to unifying political, economic and cultural institutions, take care to unify the forces of Arab revolution within a nationalist frontal framework capable of leading the Arab masses in accordance with a political programme defining the requirements of confronting on all levels.
- 3 — Going back to the people and putting them in the picture about the difficulties that might confront the advance of the struggle for unity and frontal work so that the Arab masses could place their weight behind the Party.
- 4 — Focusing the Party's endeavours on the Palestine issue and commando action side by side with drawing attention to other problems such as the imperialistic-reactionary schemings in the Arab Gulf. Every effort should be made in the fields of ideology, politics,

Struggling Arab nation!

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RELATIONS BETWEEN IDEOLOGY AND TACTICS.

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THE NECESSITIES OF THE CURRENT STAGE

information and popular work to accentuate those shortcomings and awaken Arab masses, everywhere in the Arab homeland to this menacing danger side by side with getting ready to encounter and overcome it and prompt the Gulf states and principalities to achieve real unity which answers the minimum of the requirements of confronting the danger in question.

5 — Mobilising the Party's entire energies on a nationalist (pan-Arab) level for shoring up the Party's rule in Iraq and deepening and enriching its experience.

FIFTHLY:

On the political level, the Convention passed resolutions on the following:

1 — Undertaking serious and speedy work to change the features of Arab realities with the object of achieving objective conditions necessary for confronting the Zionist-imperialistic alliance. This is to be had by tireless endeavours for the realisation of unity in its progressive substance. The view on the edifice of Arab conditions is to be totally revised along with creating mental and psychological preparedness to link up the Arab life fully with the necessities of long-term confrontation. Economy, politics and every-day life should all be converted into supporting media with the object of directing Arab struggle in the way of the battlefield.

2 — "Lay emphasis on the adoption of the strategy of the national liberation war previously endorsed at the 9th National Convention. The requirements of that strategy (including the creation of the policy of confrontation, the economy of confrontation, the school of confrontation) should be considered as the natural key to the realisation of a full-fledged, drastic and deep revolution in the contemporary Arab life, all in a manner totally removing fragmentation, backwardness and class exploitation.

3 — "Creating objective conditions for uniting Arab revolutionary forces around a comprehensive programme of revolutionary work helpful to releasing the effectiveness of the Arab masses and to placing the reins of the battle in their hands. This is to be achieved by creating the progressive nationalist front on pan-Arab levels.

4 — "Arab masses are considered the instrument as well as the objective of the Revolution and the quarter which has a real stake in liberation. Consequently, the advance should always be in the direction of the masses and of mobilising them for waging the battle, all the more so after the formulas coming down from above have proved their impotence and their utter failure to attain to the minimum levels required for the confrontation and for joint Arab action.

SIXTHLY:

"On the Palestine issue and commando action, the Convention passed resolutions on the following:

1 — "Reckoning with the Palestine Revolution as the main centre of gravity to the Arab Revolution and doing away with all deviationist tendencies arising from local concepts or opportunistic stances aiming at erasing the dialectical unity of the Arab Revolution and the Palestine Revolution.

2 — "Endeavouring to carry out the strategy of the war of national liberation and armed struggle by bolstering the Palestine commando work and popular resistance in the occupied territories and assuring to them all political, material and moral necessities.

3 — "Fostering relations between the Party and commando organisations through the Unified Palestine Leadership and on the basis of comradeship in struggle between Arab revolutionary forces.

4 — "Backing up all endeavours that seek the realisation of the slogan of the unity of commando action under the leadership of revolutionary ideology.

5 — "Turning down all advocacies smacking of

new required pattern in the post-June 5 era — i.e. by converting the territory of Iraq into a revolutionary Arab force and committing the country's possibilities to serving nationalist strategy:

1 — "Solving the territory's problems in the light of the strategy of confronting the Zionist-imperialistic-reactionary alliance. The Convention stressed that the proclamation of a peaceful, democratic settlement to the Kurdish issue on the basis of self-rule within the framework of Iraqi unity and in a manner assuring best conditions of cooperation and solidarity between the Arab and Kurdish nationalities, should be in the forefront of the Party's accomplishments so as to release its armed forces and its economic and human energies for confronting the Zionist danger and undercutting imperialistic and reactionary conspiracies in the region.

2 — "Achieving deep revolutionary accomplishments leading to drastic transformations in production relationships along with the necessary conditions for embarking upon the socialist transformation stage.

3 — "Considering the Palestine revolution as the centre of gravity for the policy of the territory of Iraq and getting the strategy of unity and of popular and regular armed struggle (both in conscience and in practice) to enter every home, factory, school and barrack and shape up the life of the individual, the family, the village and the city in the light of the requirement of confrontation.

4 — "Viewing struggle for unity as setting the road to liberation and looking upon struggle waged across Palestine as the right way to a type of unity correcting all the consequences of the preceding experiment. This is because the road of unity and the road of liberation are inseparable the one from the other.

5 — "Building the progressive national front on both the regional and nationalist levels (local and pan-Arab levels).

6 — "Bringing about an information, cultural and social revolution disabouring Arab life of all residues of fragmentation and prejudices against the human nationalist associations and of all forms and traditions disruptive to a scientific and revolutionary confrontation with the enemy.

7 — "Ever taking initiatives on both official and popular levels for creating climates accommodating to unitary work.

8 — "Inviting Arab institutions and Arab popular organisations to a programme of action reviving the hopes of the Arab masses and creating among them confidence in victory once all revolutionary Arab possibilities are pooled under its banner. Such a programme of action would also provide a sharp revolutionary yardstick of criticism.

9 — "Backing up every Arab revolutionary uprising and using all possibilities to protect it against encirclement and assault.

10 — "Uncovering the dangers converging on specific areas, the scenes of imperialistic conspiratorial activities such as the Arab Gulf and northern and Southern Yemen and endeavouring to give them every boost side by side with laying down a strategy for protecting the Gulf against imperialistic conspiracies.

ON THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL.

On the international level the role of the Party is defined by the courageous, decisive and intelligent confrontation of world attempts to liquidate the Palestine issue under the pretext of resolving the crises emanating from the June 5 War, with a view to realising the political objectives at this stage, namely:

1. Folling the attempts which would destroy the future of the issue and constitute a form of international compromise at the expense of the interest and

5. Acquiring real friends able of comprehending its objective significance of the role and world Revolution.

6. Deepening the impact of Palestinian territories, and expansion of international backing and popular and official levels.

7. Reducing the impact of influence, and the scope of the world public opinion.

8. Supporting the national in Asia, Africa and Latin America objective ties therewith.

9. Establishing extensive action of the socialist experiences acting with them and utilising know-how, especially those who have similar conditions as those of the Arab

10. Emphasising the present official and popular levels, at the by means of expanding and deep progressive forces and regimes, attention to the establishment of with, and also displaying keenness, conduct visits, extend invitations to prepare for the convergence forces.

11. Embarking on dialogues in the socialist countries, the Party opinion and the objection, and bringing about an understanding of the outlook to rough the openness which has of the attitudes of the Soviet Union countries towards the Party action in Iraq.

12. Devoting attention to public opinion, and establishing ties with the progressive forces in the West, so as to re auxiliary instrument for exposure of the pro-Zionist government, their peoples; exposing Zionist do, and for explaining the Arab stance of the Arab issue; curbing Zionist propaganda on world public bringing about a positive attitude the objective and human outlook stigmatised attitudes created by serve as an insulator between West on the one hand and the Arab on the other.

13. Consolidating ties among labour unions as well as the nations, as such ties constitute a strong the Zionist propaganda, a mutual understanding of the world over, and develop the con required for dealing with the which penetrate into the Arab before they become too acute.

14. Emphasizing that the the Party depend at the current clear-cut criterion, namely the a-vis the Arab Palestine issue.

Struggling masses of the

The Tenth National Convention resolutions and recommendation of the strategy of the Party embodied in this declaration at related to organisation in a manner the development of the organisation a view to raising it to the level

THE NECESSITIES OF THE CURRENT STAGE

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new required pattern in the post-June 5 era — i.e. by
coverting the territory of Iraq into a revolutionary Arab
force and committing the country's possibilities to
serving nationalist strategy:

1 — "Solving the territory's problems in the light
of the strategy of confronting the Zionist-imperialistic-
reactionary alliance. The Convention stressed that the
proclamation of a peaceful, democratic settlement to
the Kurdish issue on the basis of self-rule within the
framework of Iraqi unity and in a manner assuring best
conditions of cooperation and solidarity between the
Arab and Kurdish nationalities, should be in the fore-
front of the Party's accomplishments so as to release
its armed forces and its economic and human energies
for confronting the Zionist danger and undercutting
imperialistic and reactionary conspiracies in the region.

2 — "Achieving deep revolutionary accomplishments
leading to drastic transformations in production rela-
tionships alongwith the necessary conditions for em-
barking upon the socialist transformation stage.

3 — "Considering the Palestine revolution as the
centre of gravity for the policy of the territory of Iraq
and getting the strategy of unity and of popular and
regular armed struggle (both in conscience and in prac-
tice) to enter every home, factory, school and barrack
and shape up the life of the individual, the family, the
village and the city in the light of the requirement of
confrontation.

4 — "Viewing struggle for unity as setting the
road to liberation and looking upon struggle waged
across Palestine as the right way to a type of unity
correcting all the consequences of the preceding expe-
rience. This is because the road of unity and the road
of liberation are inseparable the one from the other.

5 — "Building the progressive national front on
both the regional and nationalist levels (local and pan-
Arab levels).

6 — "Bringing about an information, cultural and
social revolution disburdening Arab life of all shackles
of fragmentation and prejudices against the human
nationalist associations and of all ideas and traditions
disruptive to a scientific and revolutionary confronta-
tion with the enemy.

7 — "Ever taking initiatives on both official and
popular levels for creating climates accommodating to
unitary work.

8 — "Inviting Arab institutions and Arab popular
organisations to a programme of action reviving the
hopes of the Arab masses and creating among them
confidence in victory once all revolutionary Arab po-
ssibilities are pooled under its banner. Such a pro-
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rising and using all possibilities to protect it against
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activities such as the Arab Gulf and northern and Sou-
thern Yemen and endeavouring to give them every bo-
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tecting the Gulf against imperialistic conspiracies.

ON THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

On the international level the role of the Party
is defined by the courageous, decisive and intelligent
confrontation of world attempts to liquidate the Pales-
tine issue under the pretext of resolving the crises em-
anating from the June 5 War, with a view to realising
the political objectives at this stage, namely:

5. Acquiring real friends for Arab Revolution cap-
able of comprehending its objectives and appreciating
the significance of the role undertaken in the field of
world Revolution.

6. Deepening the impact of Arab Resistance on the
Palestinian territories, and expanding the framework
of international backing and assistance both on the
popular and official levels.

7. Reducing the impact of the Zionist propaganda
influence, and the scope of the Zionist scheming on
world public opinion.

8. Supporting the national liberation movements
in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and establishing
objective ties therewith.

9. Establishing extensive and organised assimila-
tion of the socialist experiences in the world, inter-
acting with them and utilising such experiences and
know-how, especially those who have undergone simi-
lar conditions as those of the Arab Nation.

10. Emphasising the presence of the Party, on
official and popular levels, at the international domain,
by means of expanding and deepening contacts with all
progressive forces and regimes, and devoting serious
attention to the establishment of organised ties there-
with, and also displaying keenness to attend confer-
ences, conduct visits, extend invitations and take the ini-
tiative to prepare for the convention of progressive
forces.

11. Embarking on dialogues with the socialist par-
ties in the socialist countries, with a view to explain
the Party opinion and the objectives of the Arab Revo-
lution, and bringing about an atmosphere of mutual
understanding of the outlook to the Arab Question, th-
rough the openness which has become characteristic
of the attitudes of the Soviet Union and other Socialist
countries towards the Party after the July 17 Revolu-
tion in Iraq.

12. Devoting attention to the world progressive
public opinion, and establishing friendly and acquain-
tance ties with the progressive parties and organiza-
tions in the West, so as to render such relations an
auxiliary instrument for exposing imperialist attitudes
of the pro-Zionist governments in the West, before
their peoples; exposing Zionist groundless propaga-
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sions of the Arab issue; curbing the influence of Zio-
nist propaganda on world public opinion in the West;
bringing about a positive atmosphere dominated by
the objective and human outlook over the passive se-
ntimental attitudes created by the Zionist schemes to
serve as an insulator between public opinion in the
West on the one hand and the issues of Arab Revolu-
tion on the other.

13. Consolidating ties among the Arab vocational
labour unions as well as the international organiza-
tions, as such ties constitute a significant factor for fo-
ling the Zionist propaganda, and help bring about a
mutual understanding of the revolutionary issues the
world over, and develop the constructive critical feeling
required for dealing with the fallacies and ailments
which penetrate into the Arab revolutionary action,
before they become too acute.

14. Emphasizing that the policy and attitudes of
the Party depend at the current stage on a definite and
clear-cut criterion, namely the attitudes of others vis-
-vis the Arab Palestine Issue.

Struggling masses of the Arab Nation,

The Tenth National Convention has adopted se-
veral resolutions and recommendations on the fulfil-
ment of the strategy of the Party and political action
embodied in this declaration and also on matters re-

prompt the Gulf states and principalities to achieve real unity which answers the minimum of the requirements of confronting the danger in question.

5 — Mobilising the Party's entire energies on a nationalist (pan-Arab) level for shoring up the Party's rule in Iraq and deepening and enriching its experience.

FIFTHLY:

On the political level, the Convention passed resolutions on the following:

1 — Undertaking serious and speedy work to change the features of Arab realities with the object of achieving objective conditions necessary for confronting the Zionist-imperialistic alliance. This is to be had by tireless endeavours for the realisation of unity in its progressive substance. The view on the edifice of Arab conditions is to be totally revised along with creating mental and psychological preparedness to link up the Arab life fully with the necessities of long-term confrontation. Economy, politics and every-day life should all be converted into supporting media with the object of directing Arab struggle in the way of the battlefield.

2 — "Laying emphasis on the adoption of the strategy of the national liberation war previously endorsed at the 9th National Convention. The requirements of that strategy (including the creation of the policy of confrontation, the economy of confrontation, the school of confrontation) should be considered as the natural key to the realisation of a full-fledged, drastic and deep revolution in the contemporary Arab life, all in a manner totally removing fragmentation, backwardness and class exploitation.

3 — "Creating objective conditions for uniting Arab revolutionary forces around a comprehensive programme of revolutionary work helpful to releasing the effectiveness of the Arab masses and to placing the reins of the battle in their hands. This is to be achieved by creating the progressive nationalist front on pan-Arab levels.

4 — "Arab masses are considered the instrument as well as the objective of the Revolution and the quarter which has a real stake in liberation. Consequently, the advance should always be in the direction of the masses and of mobilising them for waging the battle, all the more so after the formulas coming down from above have proved their impotence and their utter failure to attain to the minimum levels required for the confrontation and for joint Arab action.

SIXTHLY:

"On the Palestine issue and commando action, the Convention passed resolutions on the following:

1 — "Reckoning with the Palestine Revolution as the main centre of gravity to the Arab Revolution and dealing away with all deviationist tendencies arising from local concepts or opportunistic stances aiming at cracking the dialectical unity of the Arab Revolution and the Palestine Revolution.

2 — "Endeavouring to carry out the strategy of the war of national liberation and armed struggle by bolstering the Palestine commando work and popular resistance in the occupied territories and assuring to them all political, material and moral necessities.

3 — "Fostering relations between the Party and commando organisations through the Unified Palestine Leadership and on the basis of comradeship in struggle between Arab revolutionary forces.

4 — "Backing up all endeavours that seek the realisation of the slogan of the unity of commando action under the leadership of revolutionary ideology.

5 — "Turning down all advocates smacking of capitulation and resisting all attempts to struggle and contain the Palestine Revolution and liquidate the Palestine issue.

6 — "Disseminating comprehension of the nature of the battle fought in Palestine, uncovering the organic association between imperialism and Zionism and fostering the ties of friendship between the Palestine Revolution and progressive movements of liberation the world over.

SEVENTHLY: ON THE IRAQI TERRITORY.

"The Convention has drawn up the broadlines of the advance of the regime in the territory of Iraq in the following manner (with the object of attaining to the

1 — "Solving the territory's problems in the light of the strategy of confronting the Zionist-imperialistic-reactionary alliance. The Convention stressed that the proclamation of a peaceful, democratic settlement to the Kurdish issue on the basis of self-rule within the framework of Iraqi unity and in a manner assuring best conditions of cooperation and solidarity between the Arab and Kurdish nationalities, should be in the forefront of the Party's accomplishments so as to release its armed forces and its economic and human energies for confronting the Zionist danger and undercutting imperialistic and reactionary conspiracies in the region.

2 — "Achieving deep revolutionary accomplishments leading to drastic transformations in production relationships along with the necessary conditions, for embarking upon the socialist transformation stage.

3 — "Considering the Palestine revolution as the centre of gravity for the policy of the territory of Iraq and getting the strategy of unity and of popular and regular armed struggle (both in conscience and in practice) to enter every home, factory, school and barrack and shape up the life of the individual, the family, the village and the city in the light of the requirement of confrontation.

4 — "Viewing struggle for unity as setting the road to liberation and looking upon struggle waged across Palestine as the right way to a type of unity correcting all the consequences of the preceding experiment. This is because the road of unity and the road of liberation are inseparable the one from the other.

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1. Folling the attempts which would destroy the future of the issue and constitute a form of international compromise at the expense of the interest and destiny of the Arab Nation.

2. Taking the initiative to establish the closest ties with the Socialist Community.

3. Creating an understanding public opinion capable of perceiving the reality of the Arab revolutionary attitude, in defence of the Arab survival and destiny, and in defying a serious danger threatening the destiny of humanity.

4. Calling attention to the schemes of the Zionist-imperialist-reactionary alliance, as well as to the real dimensions of conspiring against the Arab Homeland and to the nature of the strategic alliance between the U.S. and Israel.

6. Deepening the Palestinian territories of international back popular and official

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10. Emphasising the presence of the Party, on official and popular levels, at the international domain, by means of expanding and deepening contacts with all progressive forces and regimes, and devoting serious attention to the establishment of organised ties therewith, and also displaying keenness to attend conferences, conduct visits, extend invitations and take the initiative to prepare for the convention of progressive forces.

11. Embarking on dialogues with the socialist parties in the socialist countries, with a view to explain the Party opinion and the objectives of the Arab Revolution, and bringing about an atmosphere of mutual understanding of the outlook to the Arab Question, through the openness which has become characteristic of the attitudes of the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries towards the Party after the July 17 Revolution in Iraq.

12. Devoting attention to the world progressive public opinion, and establishing friendly and acquaintance ties with the progressive parties and organisations in the West, so as to render such relations an auxiliary instrument for exposing imperialist attitudes of the pro-Zionist governments in the West, before their peoples; exposing Zionist groundless propaganda, and for explaining the Arab right and the dimensions of the Arab issue; curbing the influence of Zionist propaganda on world public opinion in the West; bringing about a positive atmosphere dominated by the objective and human outlook over the passive sentimental attitudes created by the Zionist schemes to serve as an insulator between public opinion in the West on the one hand and the issues of Arab Revolution on the other.

13. Consolidating ties among the Arab vocational labour unions as well as the international organisations, as such ties constitute a significant factor for foling the Zionist propaganda, and help bring about a mutual understanding of the revolutionary issues the world over, and develop the constructive critical feeling required for dealing with the fallacies and ailments which penetrate into the Arab revolutionary action, before they become too acute.

14. Emphasizing that the policy and attitudes of the Party depend at the current stage on a definite and clear-cut criterion, namely the attitudes of others vis-a-vis the Arab Palestine Issue.

Struggling masses of the Arab Nation,

The Tenth National Convention has adopted several resolutions and recommendations on the fulfilment of the strategy of the Party and political action embodied in this declaration and also on matters related to organisation in a manner that would guarantee the development of the organisational instrument, with a view to raising it to the level that would qualify it for undertaking the burdens of the stage and to implement the required strategy. The Convention also resulted in the election of a new National Leadership, and concluded its activities to let the Party proceed in its struggle through its resolutions and recommendations, and in the light of the strategy it has adopted.

The Arab Baath Socialist Party, which has spent 30 years in the fields of struggle, and which has managed to by-pass its mistakes and setbacks, to stand fast before the conspiracies and sabotage woven against it, does assure the masses of the Arab Nation that it will stay with them on the thoroughfare of stern and ever-lasting struggle until unity, liberty and socialism are realised.

PARTY MUSEUM

In the old house of the President of the Republic, Struggler Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr, clandestine meetings were held to draw up the plan of July 17 Revolution with utmost secrecy and precision. The revolutionaries met with the President for twenty hours a day to thoroughly discuss the various aspects of the revolution, study all the possibilities and take precaution against all that might encounter the execution of the revolutionary plan on the zero hour.

Notwithstanding the surveillance imposed by the Arifite clique on the residence of the President, the back door was usually opened to let the Party leaders in, carrying the latest news on the collapsing Arifite regime and the latest developments in the country; they would leave with bags full of the Party's pamphlets and instructions to be dispatched to various Party organisations in the country, and also to the Party bases to be fully aware of the developments.

In the room overlooking the front ground of the house, the comrades' meetings continued for hours and ended at an old typewriter to translate the said meetings into blazing words, then to the duplicating machine which had been acquainted with old statements addressed to the masses to expose the treacherous attitudes of the Arifite regime.

In the President's room, pictures of furniture were transformed into hiding places for arms; in the lower part of the bed personally used by the President, a number of the Party arms were hidden awaiting the promised day of the revolution.

A CERTAIN DAY OF JULY

On the 17th of July, 1968, everything was transformed into positive instruments of the revolution; hence the typewriter and duplicating machine were hushed, when the machine guns started to roar, after a prolonged silence throughout the days of the secret struggle.

After the Party's assumption of power, all the furniture in the old house was transformed into a heritage of the struggle of the Arab Baath Socialist Party in Iraq; hence the idea emerged for the transformation of the house into a Party Museum embracing and preserving that heritage. The Party leadership sponsored the idea, whose implementation was supervised by Dr. Issa Salman, Director General of Antiquities. Work was commenced with under the personal directives of the President.

THE IDEA IN THE CRADLE

According to Dr. Issa Salman, the idea of establishing

a museum for the struggle heritage of the Party came into being when the President donated his personal house to house the Party museum. The project was then referred to the Directorate General of Antiquities for implementation, whereby the history of the Party struggle could be narrated

through the exhibits of the house. The fourth hall would embrace photographs of the Party martyrs who passed away both during the clandestine and open struggle since the Party founding up to the present time.

The fifth hall would be confined to exhibiting the personal belongings of the President.



The President's former home, which now houses the Party Museum.

A committee was set up to look after the implementation of the project, and a decision was taken to the effect of exhibiting the remains in five halls, the first of which was the reception room, re-named after July 17, in which the achievements of July 17 Revolution would be exhibited, namely the decisions adopted by the Revolutionary Command Council in chronological order, inscribed in beautiful calligraphy on large plates. The hall also embraced personal photographs of the RCC members who met in the house on July 16, 1968, and approved the execution plan, as well as personal photographs of the Regional Leadership members of the Party and pictures depicting the mass demonstrations in support of July 30 manifesto, of 1968, and pictures showing the achievements of the revolution.

PARTY HERITAGE

The second hall would contain the Party heritage during the clandestine struggle, embodied in the typewriters, duplicators and arms, while the third hall would embrace the Party publications comprising statements, directives and reports circulated during the clandestine struggle period.

The fourth hall would embrace photographs of the Party martyrs who passed away both during the clandestine and open struggle since the Party founding up to the present time.

THE PARTY MOTTO

At the front of the President's house, a luminous signboard stands with the Party motto inscribed on it, namely UNITY, LIBERTY and SOCIALISM, in colours.

There is another luminous signboard with the inscription of the Party motto "One Arab Nation With An Immortal Mission".

High above the house, three triangles stand with the colorful inscription of "The Party Museum", above which a flame glows in the night to symbolise the torch of struggle.

RECORD FOR THE GENERATIONS

Every revolutionary party keeps a record of heritage penetrating back into the history of its struggle. The Party Museum is a record for the forthcoming generations, narrating the heritage of the Arab Baath Socialist Party and telling the story of all the details of the Party's procession and struggle, thus providing the Party strugglers with all inspiration of decisiveness and determination to carry on their struggle and to link the glorious past with the victories of the present and future.

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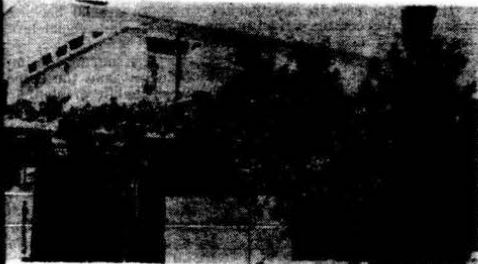
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MUSEUM

The President of the Republic, Struggler Ahmed, meetings were held to draw up the plan of utmost secrecy and precision. The revolutionaries for twenty hours a day to thoroughly discuss revolution, study all the possibilities and take might encounter the execution of the revolution.

The idea of establishing a museum for the struggle here of the Party came into being when the President donated his personal house to the Party museum. The project was then referred to the Directorate General of Antiquities for implementation. The fifth hall would be confined to exhibiting the personal belongings of the President.



President's former home, which now houses the Party Museum.

When the exhibits of the committee was set up to after the implementation of the project, and a decision taken to the effect of exhibiting the remains in five, the first of which was reception room, re-named July 17, in which the achievements of July 17 Revolution would be exhibited, namely decisions adopted by the Revolutionary Command Council in chronological order, inscribed in beautiful calligraphy on large plates. The hall also placed personal photographs of the ROC members who in the house on July 16, and approved the execution plan, as well as personal photographs of the Regional membership members of the and pictures depicting mass demonstrations in support of July 30 manifesto, of and pictures showing the movements of the revolution.

PARTY HERITAGE

The second hall would contain the Party heritage during the clandestine struggle, embodied in the typewriters, documents and arms, while the third hall would embrace the publications comprising the Party's directives and regulations formulated during the clandestine struggle period.

The fourth hall would embrace photographs of the Party martyrs who passed away both during the clandestine and open struggle since the Party founding up to the present time.

The fifth hall would be confined to exhibiting the personal belongings of the President.

e.g. his bed which contained a secret hiding place for arms, his library and personal photos in successive stages.

THE PARTY MOTTO

At the front of the President's house, a luminous signboard stands with the Party motto inscribed on it, namely UNITY, LIBERTY and SOCIALISM, in colours.

There is another luminous signboard with the inscription of the Party motto "One Arab Nation With An Immortal Mission".

High above the house, three triangles stand with the colourful inscription of "The Party Museum", above which a flame glows in the night to symbolise the torch of struggle.

RECORD FOR THE GENERATIONS

Every revolutionary party keeps a record of heritage penetrating back into the history of its struggle. The Party Museum is a record for the forthcoming generations, narrating the heritage of the Arab Baath Socialist Party and telling the story of all the details of the Party's procession and struggle, thus providing the Party strugglers with all inspiration of decisiveness and determination to carry on their struggle and to link the glorious past with the victories of the present and future.

Notice for Tender

Ministry of works & Housing

Directorate General of Public works

Project of National Development Plan for years 1970-1974

Tender for supply of Baily Bridges or Equivalent

We hereby announce closed tender for (supply of Baily Bridges or equivalent) according to the following conditions:

1 — Tender documents can be obtained from D.G. of Public Works/account section (or the following) against payment of ID. 5 (or equivalent).

- A. Iraqi Embassy In London.
- B. Iraqi Embassy In Paris.
- C. Iraqi Embassy In Moscow.
- D. Iraqi Embassy In Budapest.
- E. Iraqi Embassy In Prague.
- F. Iraqi Embassy In Bonn.

2 — Closing date of tender is 1/7/1971.

3 — Tender must be accompanied with the following:

A. Preliminary deposit of ID. 1500 either as a Bank Guarantee or paid in cash to the treasury of Baghdad Governorate, receipt of which should be accompanied with the tender. Checks will not be accepted unless authorised by the same Bank.

B. Membership's Card of the Town's Chamber of Commerce if the tenderer is a resident of a town where such a chamber, exists along with Income Tax certificate Valid till 31/3/72. If the tenderer is a company, a copy of its internal system must be presented. (Iraqis only).

C. A list of similar undertakings (for Iraqis only).

D. A contractors' classification's card. (for Iraqis only).

4 — Tenderer should state at the end of Bill of Quantities that his prices are submitted after thorough study of the Bill & General Conditions.

5 — Any tender not submitted within the period mentioned in para 2 above or submitted deficient of one of the documents required will be neglected.

6 — Tenders can be submitted in English or

Party's pamphlets and instructions to be dispatched to various Party organisations in the country, and also to the Party bases to be fully aware of the developments.

In the room overlooking the front ground of the house, the comrades' meetings continued for hours and ended at an old typewriter to translate the said meetings into blazing words, then to the duplicating machine which had been acquainted with old statements addressed to the masses to expose the treacherous attitudes of the Arifite regime.

In the President's room, pieces of furniture were transformed into hiding places for arms; in the lower part of the bed personally used by the President, a number of the Party arms were hidden awaiting the promised day of the revolution.

A CERTAIN DAY OF JULY

On the 17th of July, 1968, everything was transformed into positive instruments of the revolution; hence the typewriter and duplicating machine were hushed, when the machine guns started to roar, after a prolonged silence throughout the days of the secret struggle.

After the Party's assumption of power, all the furniture in the old house was transformed into a heritage of the struggle of the Arab Baath Socialist Party in Iraq; hence the idea emerged for the transformation of the house into a Party Museum embracing and preserving that heritage. The Party leadership sponsored the idea, whose implementation was supervised by Dr. Issa Salman, Director General of Antiquities. Work was commenced with under the personal directives of the President.

THE IDEA IN THE CRADLE

According to Dr. Issa Sal-

man, the struggle could be narrated



The President's former home, which now houses the Party Museum.

man, through the exhibits of the house.

A committee was set up to look after the implementation of the project, and a decision was taken to the effect of exhibiting the remains in five halls, the first of which was the reception room, re-named after July 17, in which the achievements of July 17 Revolution would be exhibited, namely the decisions adopted by the Revolutionary Command Council in chronological order, inscribed in beautiful calligraphy on large plates. The hall also embraced personal photographs of the RCC members who met in the house on July 16, 1968, and approved the execution plan, as well as personal photographs of the Regional Leadership members of the Party and pictures depicting the mass demonstrations in support of July 30 manifesto, of 1968, and pictures showing the achievements of the revolution.

PARTY HERITAGE

The second hall would contain the Party heritage during the clandestine struggle, embodied in the typewriters, duplicators and arms, while the third hall would embrace the Party publications comprising statements, directives and reports circulated during the cla-

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President Ba'ath seen during a visit to the Party Museum.

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Baghdad Observer

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B. Membership's Card of the Town's Chamber of Commerce if the tenderer is a resident of a town where such a chamber, exists along with Income Tax certificate Valid till 31/3/72. If the tenderer is a company, a copy of its internal system must be presented. (Iraqis only).

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D. A contractors' classification's card. (for Iraqis only).

4 — Tenderer should state at the end of Bill of Quantities that his prices are submitted after thorough study of the Bill & General Conditions.

5 — Any tender not submitted within the period mentioned in para 2 above or submitted deficient of one of the documents required will be neglected.

6 — Tenders can be submitted in English or Arabic & English.

7 — This directorate is not obliged to accept lowest offer or any other offer.

8 — Offers to be submitted to the secretary of the tenders opening committee in the Ministry of Works & Housing.

9 — Tenders shall be opened at the presence of the tenderers or their representatives at the end of official working hours, the day the tender is closed. Preliminary results will be shown on the notices board.

**DIRECTOR GENERAL
OF PUBLIC WORKS**

Baghdad Observer No. 972, Dated 7/4/1971.

PROGRAMME OF THE A.B.

APRIL 7, 1947 WITNESSED A HISTORIC EVENT IN THE LIFE OF ARAB PEOPLE: THE BIRTH OF THE BAATH SOCIALIST PARTY WHICH HAD LED THE ARAB MILLIONS THROUGHOUT THE PAST 24 YEARS TO A UNITARY, NATIONALIST, SOCIALIST THOUGHT. WHILE MANY POLITICAL MOVEMENTS HAVE BEEN FORMED FOR POLITICAL AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS OF THE ARAB PEOPLE, AND FAILED TO PUT FORTH REAL SOLUTIONS FOR THE PROBLEMS OF THE ARAB NATION, THE PARTY WAS ABLE TO REMAIN A MILITANT ARAB VANGUARD LEADING THE POPULAR STRUGGLE NOT ONLY ON A REGIONAL, BUT ALSO ON A NATIONAL LEVEL. THE PARTY LITERATURE AND STATEMENTS, ONE OF WHICH WE PUBLISH BELOW, NAMELY THE PROGRAMME ISSUED IN 1965 BY THE EIGHTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE, ARE IN FACT DOCUMENTS OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE ARAB PEOPLE AND ITS MARCH TOWARDS REALISING UNITY, LIBERTY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE.

(I) — It is not difficult to define the role of the Party in the days of passive struggle. This role rises on leading the struggle, side by side with the masses, against all factors that present stumbling blocks in the face of the advancement of the popular masses. Such factors might be imperialism, its derivatives and associations, or exploitation of reactionary governments, or feudalism and capitalist exploitation, or the hangovers of the traditionalist social life, or others, as they might be.

(II) — In power, however, and following the triumph of party revolution, the Party's role requires clearer definition. This is especially so as the Party's responsibilities have multiplied in a tremendous way. They are no longer confined to fighting factors of weakness; rather these responsibilities have now assumed the major task of building a new progressive society based on socialist foundations. This alone demands formidable exertions.

To the above must be added the fact that the new building rises on foundations that had come to be laid down and nourished in the days of backwardness, imperialism, enslavement and exploitation. The new building is maintained by men who, whether leaders or masses, have had their upbringing in those same days. Although they had resented the institutions and conditions of those days, they will still be found to have contracted some of their residues.

(III) — The Party's basic function, in the party's role, is to bring about a revolutionary change in the entire social relations: political, economic and social. These should be changed from relations marked by backwardness and exploitation to relations marked by socialism, progress.

Here rises the great difference between what has come to be called the one-party rule and the rule of the leader-party. Under the one-party system, the party undertakes the change-over operation all by itself, whereas the leader-party depends on the masses and

not a custodian upon them but rather the vanguard part thereof, does realise that these masses, by virtue of having inherited the conditions of their erstwhile environment of enslavement, have in the same way, contracted many of the maladies of the traditionalist society which the party is out to eliminate.

For this purpose the party grants to these masses and their organisations the freedom of action and the freedom of movement, though, of course, within the terms of social progress which the party comprehends, lest the maladies of the 'ancient regime' find their way to the new society which the party seeks to build.

(V) — This starting point in party work requires an opening to be made to the masses of the people along with breaking the barriers of isolation and seeking out the creation of the right climate where the masses can feel a sense of mutual belongingness with the party, though they might not join its ranks.

On the other hand, the application of the one-party logic, where the party is both leader and executive, has the effect of raising between the party and the masses a war, like the China War. It will also confer on the party and its regime the characteristic of dictatorship.

Popular democracy, as understood by the Baath, rises on complete voluntary mutual responsiveness that can materialise between the party and the masses once the party maintains an opening with them and abandons all supremacy over them.

(VI) — There can be only one excuse for what we have come to call the one-party system, namely the existence of contradictions between the party's role, as was drawn up by the party itself, and the historic role facing the masses.

The leader-party, by contrast, is the force that gives expression to the people's historic role.

This is because the Party from the day of its inception, has been working consciously in the conditions of passive struggle to rid, at least its members, of such residues, and maladies and to itself get rid of any member in whom such residues tend to assert themselves in a fierce manner disrupting the progress of vanguard struggle.

The fact is, that the Party, however exertions it might make, will still be found bearing within its ranks and in the minds of many of its members some of those same residues. This is because it is by no means easy for a citizen be he an ordinary man or a party struggle, to dissociate himself at once from all relations tying him to a society wherein he lives, though he might be fighting that same society.

But as the Party finds it necessary, in the days of passive struggle, to eject all elements in whom those residues assert themselves in an outspoken manner, such necessity becomes all the more overriding in the days of party rule and building. This is because the retention of such elements will create contradictions between the party and the function which it is out to accomplish.

The party must therefore, constantly revise its structure and its elements lest such residues gain control.

Accordingly, the party will have to perform TWO JOBS at one and the same time. The first is to work constantly and positively to educate party members and have their eyes open to those maladies and show them the way they should pursue for doing away with them.

The second is to adopt firmness in penalties if the first course proved a failure. If one has to tolerate the existence for sometime of these residues and maladies in the ranks of the people until it becomes possible to surmount their effects, one can hardly tolerate the continued presence of such residues in the same medium that is supposed to lead the battle against the same residues.

(VIII) — Another disease

party and transferring it from a role of the leader-party trust in the masses and their organisation to the role of the one-party system where the party assumes singlehanded the task of effecting the revolutionary change-over in its entirety.

The party's leading cadres must be constantly and tirelessly to fight this dangerous disease; first, by education; secondly, by imposing discipline; and finally by deterrent penalties.

(IX) — The historic party whose line concurs with the line of the masses is the only party qualified to assume revolutionary historic rule. Other parties or groups or elements might attain to power for sometime, but contradictions will not be long in appearing to cancel out the roles of such ruling parties.

The historic party might itself attain to power but fails to survive there in the event its structure, whether at the top or in the base renders it incapable of measuring up fully to the levels of the revolutionary assignment which it had set itself to achieve. Nonetheless, it continues to have hopes pinned to it for a comeback to the premise of revolutionary rule after having rehabilitated itself — it being the only party whose line conforms to that of the masses.

In the above account, we spoke of the party's relations with the masses, which are committed to nothing other than the historic line and to the truthful spontaneous sense. But the party, on assuming power, finds among what it inherits many groups that did indeed join in the general revolutionary line of the people but which, for one reason or another, failed to conform strictly with that line.

New WHAT position must the party assume towards such groups?

It goes without saying that the success of the historic party in assuming power automatically cancels out completely the role which those groups

AMME OF THE A.B.S.P.

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This is because it is by no means
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another, failed to conform st-
rectly with that line.

Now WHAT position mu-
st the party assume towards
such groups?

The position to be assumed
by the revolution vis-a-vis the
elements of such groups will,
therefore, be determined not
so much by their doctrinal at-
titude (so long as this remains
non-contradictory with the ge-
neral line of the revolution) as
by their actual conduct toward-
s the revolution.

Naturally, the revolution can-
not permit conspiracies on it
or the disruption of its advan-
ce or the sowing of contradic-
tions in its path. The revolu-
tion will vigorously and fiercel-
y defend its existence when-
ever this existence becomes
endangered or exposed to wea-
kening or dilatory influences.
This is because by so doing,
the revolution is in effect de-
fending the historic destiny of
the people.

Conversely, the revolution
must maintain an opening to
any element in these groups
willing to reciprocate. By so
doing, the revolution wins over
an element of struggle, feed-
ing it with power rather than
working to weaken it, and spreading confidence rather than
fear.

It should, however, be borne
in mind that there will still
remain among these groups
certain elements which are bli-
nded by lust for power from
seeing the historic facts of the
revolution, thereby taking the
opposite side towards it. But
quite many of these elements,
in degrees varying with their
revolutionary historic conscio-
usness, can be won over to
the side of the revolution.

THE PARTY AND THE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

1) — Our Party like all
other revolutionary parties
puts its principles into effect
by means of three fronts: the
government, the people and
the army. In this chapter, we
propose to speak of the Par-
ty's role in the system of go-
vernment.

2) — Evidently every re-
volutionary party must seek
to get to power for achiev-
ing its goals. The negative at-

(I) — It is not difficult to define the role of the Party in the days of passive struggle. This role rises on leading the struggle, side by side with the masses, against all factors that present stumbling blocks in the face of the advancement of the popular masses. Such factors might be imperialism, its derivatives and associations, or exploiter reactionary governments, or feudalism and capitalist exploitation, or the hangovers of the traditionalist social life, or others, as they might be.

(II) — In power, however, and following the triumph of party revolution, the Party's role requires clearer definition. This is especially so as the Party's responsibilities have multiplied in a tremendous way. They are no longer confined to fighting factors of weakness; rather these responsibilities have now assumed the major task of building a new progressive society based on socialist foundations. This alone demands formidable exertions.

To the above must be added the fact that the new building rises on foundations that had come to be laid down and nourished up in the days of backwardness, imperialism, enslavement and exploitation. The new building is maintained by men who, whether leaders or masses, have had their upbringing in those same days. Although they had resented the institutions and conditions of those days, they will still be found to have contracted some of their residues.

(III) — The Party's basic function, in the party's rule, is to bring about a revolutionary change in the entire social relations: political, economic and social. These should be changed from relations marked by backwardness and exploitation to relations marked by socialist progress.

Here rises the great difference between what has come to be called the one-party rule and the rule of the leader-party. Under the one-party system, the party undertakes the change-over operation all by itself, whereas the leader-party depends on the masses and their organisations for effecting the change-over operation under its leadership.

In the former concept, the party becomes itself the executive force whether in government or in production, and in factory and in village alike. By contrast, in the latter concept, it is the masses and the popular organisations which become the executive force while the party remains a factor of leadership and of moulding the social awakening among those

(IV) — The leader-party, though stemming from the premise of absolute faith in the masses (it holds itself

not a custodian upon them but rather the vanguard part thereof), does realise that these masses, by virtue of having inherited the conditions of their erstwhile environment of enslavement, have in the same way, contracted many of the maladies of the traditionalist society which the party is out to eliminate.

For this purpose the party grants to these masses and their organisations the freedom of action and the freedom of movement, though, of course, within the terms of social progress which the party comprehends, lest the maladies of the 'ancien regime' find their way to the new society which the party seeks to build.

(V) — This starting point in party work requires an opening to be made to the masses of the people along with breaking the barriers of isolation and seeking out the creation of the right climate where the masses can feel a sense of mutual belongingness with the party, though they might not join its ranks.

On the other hand, the application of the one-party logic, where the party is both leader and executive, has the effect of raising between the party and the masses a war, like the China War. It will also confer on the party and its regime the characteristic of dictatorship.

Popular democracy, as understood by the Baath, rises on complete voluntary mutual responsiveness that can materialise between the party and the masses once the party maintains an opening with them and abandons all supremacy over them.

(VI) — There can be only one excuse for what we have come to call the one-party system, namely the existence of contradictions between the party's role, as was drawn up by the party itself, and the historic role facing the masses.

The leader-party, by contrast, is the force that gives expression to the people's historic role.

From this it follows that there can be no room for contradictions between the party's concepts and the concepts of the masses, but rather harmony and concurrence.

(VII) — While we carry on with this rather quick appraisal, we find ourselves compelled to assume that the party, in dealing with the affairs of the society, and in seeking out a revolutionary change in the society's relations and consciousness, has succeeded in disburdening itself of all obstructions arising from the residues and maladies of the 'ancien regime'.

This is because the Party party and transcending from the day of its inception, a role of the leader-party has been working consciously in the conditions of passive struggle to rid, at least its members, of such residues, and maladies and to itself get rid of any member in whom such residues tend to assert themselves in a fierce manner disrupting the progress of the guard struggle.

The fact is, that the Party, however exertions it might make, will still be found bearing within its ranks and in the minds of many of its members some of those same residues. This is because it is by no means easy for a citizen to be an ordinary man or a party struggler, to dissociate himself at once from all relations tying him to a society wherein he lives, though he might be fighting that same society.

But as the Party finds it necessary, in the days of passive struggle, to eject all elements in whom those residues assert themselves in an outspoken manner, such necessity becomes all the more overriding in the days of party rule and building. This is because the retention of such elements will create contradictions between the party and the function which it is out to accomplish.

The party must therefore, constantly revise its structure and its elements lest such residues gain control.

Accordingly, the party will have to perform TWO JOBS at one and the same time. The first is to work constantly and positively to educate party members and have their eyes open to those maladies and show them the way they should pursue for doing away with them.

The second is to adopt firmness in penalties if the first course proved a failure. If one has to tolerate the existence for sometime of these residues and maladies in the ranks of the people until it becomes possible to surmount their effects, one can hardly tolerate the continued presence of such residues in the same medium that is supposed to lead the battle against the same residues.

(VIII) — Another disease which the party might contract following the success of the revolution is arrogance. The seeds of this disease might have been germinating in the party, or in some of its members, since the days of passive struggle.

Indeed, arrogance might occasionally prove to be a driving force in man, prompting him to endure hardships, turbulence and the sense of self-sacrifice so much required in struggle.

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...realize that the masses, by virtue of having inherited the conditions of their erstwhile environment of enslavement, have in the same way, contracted many of the maladies of the old society which the party is out to eliminate. For this purpose the party has to these masses and organizations the freedom of action and the freedom of movement, though, of course, within the terms of social progress which the party commands, lest the maladies of the 'ancien regime' find their way to the new society which the party seeks to build.

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organization to the role of the one-party system where the party assumes singlehanded the task of effecting the revolutionary change-over in its entirety. The party's leading cadres are relentlessly to fight this dangerous disease; first, by education; secondly, by imposing discipline; thirdly, by a display of potency, and finally by deterrent penalties.

(IX) — The historic party whose line concurs with the line of the masses is the only party qualified to assume revolutionary historic rule. Other parties or groups or elements might attain to power for sometime, but contradictions will not be long in appearing to cancel out the roles of such ruling parties.

The historic party might itself attain to power but fails to survive there in the event of its structure, whether at the top or in the base renders it incapable of measuring up fully to the levels of the revolutionary assignment which it had set itself to achieve. Nonetheless, it continues to have hopes pinned to it for a comeback to the premise of revolutionary rule after having rehabilitated itself — it being the only party whose line conforms to that of the masses.

In the above account, we spoke of the party's relations with the masses, which are committed to nothing other than the historic line and to the truthful spontaneous sense. But the party, on assuming power, finds among what it inherits many groups that did indeed join in the general revolutionary line of the people but which, for one reason or another, failed to conform strictly with that line.

Now WHAT position must the party assume towards such groups?

It goes without saying that the success of the historic party in assuming power automatically cancels out completely the role which those groups might have played. Likewise, it cancels out their very raison d'être. For, if these groups have common objectives with the historic party after the success of the revolution, faith in these objectives will require them to rally round the revolution in a bona fide manner and add up their power to the revolution's. If on the other hand, they happened to hold different objectives with due care to the varying degrees of such differences, the revolution, answering the necessities of history, would have actually over-stepped such objectives. In both cases, the groups in question have forfeited their raison d'être.

elements of such groups will, therefore, be determined not so much by their doctrinal attitude (so long as this remains non-contradictory with the general line of the revolution) as by their actual conduct towards the revolution.

Naturally, the revolution cannot permit conspiracies on its part or the disruption of its advance or the sowing of contradictions in its path. The revolution will vigorously and fiercely defend its existence whenever this existence becomes endangered or exposed to weakening or dilatory influences. This is because by so doing, the revolution is in effect defending the historic destiny of the people.

Conversely, the revolution must maintain an opening to any element in these groups willing to reciprocate. By so doing, the revolution wins over an element of struggle, feeding it with power rather than working to weaken it, and spreading confidence rather than fear.

It should, however, be borne in mind that there will still remain among these groups certain elements which are blinded by lust for power from seeing the historic facts of the revolution, thereby taking the opposite side towards it. But quite many of these elements, in degrees varying with their revolutionary historic consciousness, can be won over to the side of the revolution.

THE PARTY AND THE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

1) — Our Party like all other revolutionary parties puts its principles into effect by means of three fronts: the government, the people and the army. In this chapter, we propose to speak of the Party's role in the system of government.

2) — Evidently every revolutionary party must seek to get to power for achieving its goals. The passive struggle preceding advent to power has for its main purpose raising mass bases for rejecting the foundations, relationships and residues of the 'ancien regime' and aspiring to the creation of the new society.

The first positive step in setting up this society begins, however, on the assumption of power. The State is the major instrument by which the revolutionary power can change the society through the authority the revolutionary regime wields in respect to the enactment and enforcement of laws and regulations.

3) — It is here that the first obstacle arises in the face of the revolutionary party on its assumption of power. This is because the

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NATURE OF PARTY'S M

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revolutionary party normally gets to power after protracted periods of struggle and by revolutionary methods.

The first thing to confront the revolutionary regime is thus the reactionary forces which have very clear views about the extent of danger which the revolutionary regime poses to their interests and privileges. Consequently, the forces of reaction will spare no endeavour in fighting the revolutionary rule with all means at their disposal which are by no means few. Among the powerful weapons brandished by the forces of reaction is money, class influence and control of the economic social, political and even cultural life of the 'ancien regime' whose general relationships have not yet changed though the centres of power have.

The party will also confront resistance from revolutionary or quasi-revolutionary forces which had set their eyes on assuming power. The triumph of the revolution at hands other than their own means dashing to the ground their hopes and brushing aside the role to which they had been casting themselves.

Much of the time of the revolution, in its early stage, is wasted in resisting these two trends with the object of defending the existence of the revolution and reinforcing its footholds. In this process, the revolution might appear as if it were repudiating some of the principles which it had professed to implement.

This does not matter much as long as the revolution knows where it stands and as long as the necessities of defending that transitional period of the revolution do not lead it to consign to oblivion the basic objectives which it has come to achieve.

The greatest DANGER to which the revolution might be exposed at this stage is to transform historic necessities for this particular phase into new starting points concerning ideology and application, thereby inducing it to place an indefinite moratorium on its basic goals and fundamental concepts to the point of forgetting all about them and even working out a new philosophy based on the expediencies of the obtaining phase rather than on the

revolution. As soon, however, as the revolution begins to settle down, it becomes the duty of the party to overcome and bypass this phenomenon, all the more so as every act of shrinkage on the part of the regime is countered by similar shrinkage on the part of the people.

4) — The revolutionary regime must not lose sight of basic assignment for which it assumed power in the first place, namely to change social relationships in a revolutionary way. Assumption of power, though one of the objectives of the revolution, is not an end in itself but a means to a greater and more important end, namely the changing of social relations.

In other words, this means the changing of the life of the masses in every respect. To attain to this end, the party can, through government organs, promulgate the kind of laws and regulations accommodating to the end in question.

But on this point in particular lies the great difference between dictatorship and our Party's popular democracy. Dictatorship imposes such laws from above as self-styled custodian over the people. It then enforces these laws by means of high-handed force and deterrence. It also invents ways and means of giving such reforms, passed down from the top, the semblance of a popular character one time by coercive guidance, another time by terror and a third time by vociferous propaganda. The isolation in which it must end up of necessity, it treats with more isolation, more terror, more coercive guidance and then more artificial popular organisations supposed to back it up. In reality, dictatorship possesses nothing in terms of popular force.

In popular democracy, as embarked by the Baath Party, the regime is of the people, not above it. Its interaction with the masses is a guarantee of its survival, its popularity and the enforcement of its laws.

The party might be compelled especially in the early stages of the revolution to feign terror and coercive guidance with the object of crushing the enemies of the revolution. But, definitely, it need not invent popular fronts for the simple reason that it constitutes their instrument in the social revolution and because these popular organisations, if not followed, the

defects of former regimes.

Although the government setup has in its ranks many capabilities raised by former regimes, part thereof has its interests irrevocably tied to the interests and relations of the 'ancien regime'.

Naturally, the revolutionary regime cannot depend on such an inherited system for discharging its revolutionary programmes. Consequently, the revolutionary regime feels compelled to adopt two measures simultaneously: FIRST get rid of the elements openly and unalterably loyal to former regime and, SECONDLY, substitute revolutionary elements for the ousted ones as far as possible.

Yet it is practically impossible to get rid of all elements that had cast their lot with former regimes, much as it is impossible to find enough revolutionary elements to replace them in a brief span of time.

To this should be added the fact that the overwhelming majority of officialdom is drawn from the masses of the people whose interests do clash with the survival of reaction and exploitation and meet with the goals of the revolution, though of course the influences of the 'ancien regime' have left their imprint on them. As such, the majority of officialdom is no enemy of the revolution, though it represents part of the challenges confronting the revolution and requiring revolutionary changes to disassociate themselves from the 'ancien regime' and pick up ties with the goals of the new society.

Dictatorship is capable of doing all this by COERCION and terror. But the genuine revolution, represented by popular democracy has a different way of approach — the way of openness and of mutual confidence and love.

As amputation should be the last cure, so also is the case with the government setup. Much as amputation might be necessary, it is NOT the remedy to be preferred. This is because it leaves behind no small degree of disfiguration. Rather, endeavours should be made to win over such elements to the revolution by their own free will, not by coercion or terror.

6 — The policy of having non-party elements replaced by party members in all posts is an ill-advised and erroneous one. This is because it places all non-party government offi-

ment officials, inspire a sense of responsibility to protect him against its suspicions and snip party members.

This, however, does mean that we must retain former officials of various and leanings. Some of them have their interests inextricably associated with reaction and no one of winning them over to revolution whatever might be displayed by them and whatever might be placed in the regime must get rid of such as these as quick as possible. In their reputation is the only C

The revolution must, however, maintain an openness to anyone who treads a different from that of the reaction. Ample opportunities must be left open to the work and production. Essence should not only be asked to bear responsibilities on the widest possible scale.

7 — The policy of non-party officials replacing party members also is dangerous perhaps greater than the above-mentioned one is the danger that might the party members themselves, who might indulge in job-seeking and aspirational promotions not of any efficiency or fulness but on account of party affiliations.

In this way, opposition will replace struggle, favouritism and will reign supreme. The party will thus forfeit its revolutionary character and become a group of people peddling booty among themselves.

8 — This, of course, can be construed to mean appointment of members to government posts permissible or that it ismissible either to government setup. Contrary, the nerve of the State should be in the hands of trusted and party members so the revolution could press the achievement of its goals. What is actually meant is the danger-over must be an end in itself nor a mere absence of party could be, in itself, reason for execution. Even though we are compelled to

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To this should be added the fact that the overwhelming majority of officialdom is drawn from the masses of the people whose interests do clash with the survival of reaction and exploitation and meet with the goals of the revolution, though of course the influences of the 'ancien regime' have left their imprint on them. As such, the majority of officialdom is no enemy of the revolution, though it represents part of the challenges confronting the revolution and requiring revolutionary changes to dissociate themselves from the 'ancien regime' and pick up ties with the goals of the new society.

Dictatorship is capable of doing all this by COERCION and terror. But the genuine revolution, represented by popular democracy has a different way of approach — the way of openness and of mutual confidence and love.

As amputation should be the last cure, so also is the case with the government setup. Much as amputation might be necessary, it is NOT the remedy to be preferred. This is because it leaves behind no small degree of disfiguration. Rather, endeavours should be made to win over such elements to the revolution by their own free will, not by coercion or terror.

6 — The policy of having non-party elements replaced by party members in all posts is an ill-advised and erroneous one. This is because it places all non-party government officials, several times as many

ment official, inspire him with a sense of responsibility and protect him against the insults, suspicions and snippings of party members.

This, however, does not mean that we must retain all former officials of various trends and leanings. Some of them have their interests irretrievably associated with those of reaction and no one can hope of winning them over in the revolution whatever kind of needs might be displayed towards them and whatever confidence might be placed in them. The regime must get rid of persons such as these as quickly as possible. In their respect, amputation is the only CURE.

The revolution must, however, maintain an opening to anyone who treads a path different from that of the revolution. Ample opportunities must be left open to them for work and production. Their presence should not only be tolerated but they should also be asked to bear responsibilities on the widest possible scale.

7 — The policy of having non-party officials replaced by party members also carries a danger perhaps greater than the above-mentioned one. This is the danger that might afflict the party members themselves, who might indulge in job-seeking and aspire to speedy promotions not on account of any efficiency or resourcefulness but on account of their party affiliations.

In this way, opportunism will replace struggle and favouritism and nepotism will reign supreme. The party will thus forfeit the justification of its revolutionary character and moving force and become converted into a group of people dividing booty among themselves.

8 — This, of course, must not be construed to mean that the appointment of party members to government posts is impermissible or that it is impermissible either to purge the government setup. On the contrary, the nerve centres of the State should be in the hands of trusted and qualified party members so that the revolution could press on with the achievement of its goals. What is actually meant is that the danger-over must not be an end in itself nor should the absence of party connections be, in itself, reasoned for persecution. Even those whom we are compelled to transfer from the important posts they

Small wonder that this is so. The laws in question had been laid down under former regimes and have come to be marked by an exploiter-dominating spirit bent on the preservation of inherited privileges. The administrative setup was founded and raised in the shade of these laws which it has been required to enforce as they stood. Not unnaturally, it carried their imprint.

The Revolution must not hesitate in changing these laws and having them replaced with revolutionary ones. The Revolution must also change the mentalities of the administrative organisations assigned to the enforcement of the laws in question, by kindness, if possible, but by amputation if necessary. Otherwise, the State will discover that the revolutionary laws it has been promulgating with the object of changing social relationships are impotent because they are restricted by preceding disruptive laws.

10 — The second of these dangers is bureaucracy based on stringent centralisation. The Revolution, especially in its early days, is exposed to such a danger more, indeed, than were the reactionary regimes themselves. This is because of the conditions of hostility which the Revolution is bound to confront in its early days, compelling it to adopt caution in every step it takes and to observe every matter in the State, big and small alike, and bring each problem to the attention of the highest levels of authority.

The Revolution is marked with a high degree of mobility and fast motion. The teachers of the Revolution will disappear only when the Revolution is overtaken by slowness. This is one of the inevitable byproducts of excessive centralisation. Besides, the resulting atmosphere deprives all executives, party or non-party men, of the ability to shoulder responsibility and to be capable of easy movement and creativeness.

The one thing of which capitalism boasts over socialism is the ability it claims to have in respect to providing incentives. The truth is that incentives do not represent any characteristic of capitalism. Rather, this should be one of the characteristics of socialism except of course when bureaucracy sets in and restricts responsibility. This will inevitably lead to the disappearance of

no endeavour in fighting the revolutionary rule with all means at their disposal which are by no means few. Among the powerful weapons brandished by the forces of reaction is money, class influence and control of the economic, social, political and even cultural life of the 'ancien régime' whose general relationships have not yet changed though the centres of power have.

The party will also confront resistance from revolutionary or quasi-revolutionary forces which had set their eyes on assuming power. The triumph of the revolution at hands other than their own means dashing to the ground their hopes and brushing aside the role to which they had been casting themselves.

Much of the time of the revolution, in its early stage, is wasted in resisting these two trends with the object of defending the existence of the revolution and reinforcing its footholds. In this process, the revolution might appear as if it were repudiating some of the principles which it had professed to implement.

This does not matter much as long as the revolution knows where it stands and as long as the necessities of defending that transitional period of the revolution do not lead it to consign to oblivion the basic objectives which it has come to achieve.

The greatest DANGER to which the revolution might be exposed at this stage is to transform historic necessities for this particular phase into new starting points concerning ideology and application, thereby inducing it to place an indefinite moratorium on its basic goals and fundamental concepts to the point of forgetting all about them and even working out a new philosophy based on the expediencies of the obtaining phase rather than on the objectives for which the party has struggled so long.

Following from this danger is the feeling of isolation and shrinkage resulting from the conspiracies and resistance which the revolution encounters from the above-mentioned elements. The régime might then develop a mood of caution which might not remain confined in respect to the counter-revolutionary forces; it might well extend to the neutral elements and, beyond these, assume morbid characteristics afflicting even the elements supporting the revolution.

This feeling of isolation and shrinkage is as much a normal phenomenon as it is inevitable in the early stages of the re-

objectives of the revolution. Any party in the period of passive struggle, is not an end by itself but a means to a greater and more important end, namely the changing of social relations.

In other words, this means the changing of the life of the masses in every respect. To attain to this end, the party can, through government organs, promulgate the kind of laws and regulations accommodating to the end in question.

But on this point in particular lies the great difference between dictatorship and our Party's popular democracy. Dictatorship imposes such laws from above as self-styled custodian over the people. It then enforces these laws by means of high-handed force and deterrence. It also invents ways and means of giving such reforms, passed down from the top, the semblance of a popular character one time by coercive guidance, another time by terror and a third time by vociferous propaganda. The isolation in which it must end up of necessity, it treats with more isolation, more terror, more coercive guidance and then more artificial popular organisations supposed to back it up. In reality, dictatorship possesses nothing in terms of popular force.

In popular democracy, as embarked by the Baath Party, the régime is of the people, not above it. Its interaction with the masses is a guarantee of its survival, its popularity and the enforcement of its laws.

The party might be compelled especially in the early stages of the revolution to feign terror and coercive guidance with the object of crushing the enemies of the revolution. But, definitely, it need not invent popular fronts for the simple reason that it constitutes their instrument in the social revolution and because these popular organisations predated, not followed, the revolutionary régime.

This comprehension of the subject makes the régime's opening to the masses something necessary and inevitable. The régime rallies the masses around it not by force or coercion but by daily affirmation that it is of the people and for the toiling masses which have the highest stake in the revolution and that the régime is exclusive to no body and to no party, though the party will have to assume its leadership and its guidance.

5. — One of the major difficulties encountered by the new revolutionary régime is the composition of the administrative branch which has inherited all the ills and

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Yet it is practically impossible to get rid of all elements that had cast their lot with former régimes, much as it is impossible to find enough revolutionary elements to replace them in a brief span of time.

To this should be added the fact that the overwhelming majority of officialdom is drawn from the masses of the people whose interests do clash with the survival of reaction and exploitation and meet with the goals of the revolution, though of course the influences of the 'ancien régime' have left their imprint on them. As such, the majority of officialdom is no enemy of the revolution, though it represents part of the challenges confronting the revolution and requiring revolutionary changes to disassociate themselves from the 'ancien régime' and pick up ties with the goals of the new society.

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6 — The policy of having non-party elements replaced by party members in all posts is an ill-advised and erroneous one. This is because it places all non-party government officials, several times as many as officials drawn from party members, in a state of suspicion and self-defence.

In such an event, the non-party official has only two alternatives: either he takes to opportunism by seeking to join the party on the assumption that by so doing he procures a passport to government post, authority and privileges, or he treads the path of indifference, deliberate negligence and refusal to bear responsibility; he might even undertake acts of sabotage with the object of reflecting badly on the régime.

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9 — The Revolution, in addressing itself to the question of the administrative setup, can run three major risks:

The first one is the predominance of red-tape and reactionary mentality. In attempting to change the foundation and relationship of the society in a revolutionary manner, the Revolution is bound to find the enforced laws presenting a stumbling block in its way

revolutionary ones. The Revolution must also change the mentalities of the administrative organizations assigned to the enforcement of the laws in question, by kindness, if possible, but by amputation if necessary. Otherwise, the State will discover that the revolutionary laws it has been promulgating with the object of changing social relationships are impotent because they are restricted by preceding disruptive laws.

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The one thing of which capitalism boasts over socialism is the ability it claims to have in respect to providing incentives. The truth is that incentives do not represent any characteristic of capitalism. Rather, this should be one of the characteristics of socialism except of course when bureaucracy sets in and restricts responsibility. This will inevitably lead to the disappearance of sense of initiative and the substitution for it of a mod of indolence.

11 — The third danger takes the form of treating efficiency, expertise and culture with contempt. At the first glance, this might sound odd but, regrettably, it is a reality. Some of its causes might be attributed to the fact that most of the available qualifications had been tied to a no small degree to reaction and exploitation. Here, one will aptly recall that education and culture used not to be made available except to a privileged minority. But there is a great difference between efficiency itself

(Continued on Page 13)

PROGRAMME OF THE A.B.S.P.

(Continued from page 14)

aspect as well as in its failings. This however does not mean that we shall have to go on comforting ourselves in its good aspects or tolerating its defects. The assignment of developing our society and leading our people requires, first and foremost, developing and leading the Party to enable it to measure fully to the task to which it has addressed itself.

9—This assignment requires much broadening in the base so as to incorporate all countrymen who look upon the Party as their leader and who, by their own free will join in the Party's duties, such as undertaking popular work or the formation of clubs and societies or participating in mass demonstrations etc... Such citizens are all "partisans" whom the Party must educate in a collective manner, keep in touch with wholly and severally invite their participation in its projects, inspire in them the sense of mutual trust and confidence and make of them the force and mainstay of the Party's set up.

10 — From this broad base, qualified activists should be selected as partisans and candidates for the Party's membership. These partisans must be the object of extreme care. Full concentration should be made on educating them in groups and circles assigning them to specific tasks for testing the extent of their allergy to the influences of the residues of their society and inviting their participation in all programmes and projects of the Party.

Nor should one omit to lay down special programmes of education for the partisans varying with the degrees of their culture, maturity and social work. It is of course absurd to lay down a standard programme for the illiterate and the holders of a doctor's degree or for the peasant and the student. The Party should try to release in every conceivable way the latent energies in every partisan.

Party members are to be selected from among these partisans who must have proved in the days of candidature, their maturity, activism, discipline, adherence, popularity and rejection of all residues of the 'ancien regime' such as tribalism, sectarianism and family prejudices.

12) Within the Party, the party member enjoys all the rights and shoulders all responsibilities.

the right to freely elect whoever he believes is most qualified for leadership, but he must not elect his most intimate friends for friendship sake. In other words, in exercising his right of election, the party member must not be prompted by communal or tribal motives or by opportunism or by any specific groupings or self-seeking. Nor should he be misled by outward appearances. A candidate possessed of education higher than other candidates or the most presentable



or most eloquent among them is not necessarily the ideal leader. Every member should summon his party conscience in analysing all factors that make of a candidate a good party leader.

Democracy has also assured to the party member the freedom of questioning the leadership. But it is a freedom bound to all party directives, both written and unwritten, such as showing doctrinal respect to the leaderships, appreciating the circumstances of work surrounding them, putting forward points of discussion in an objective not subjective or opportunistic manner and steering clear of splittes, groupings, etc.

13) In an assignment such as the one to which we are addressing ourselves, the party member must combine in himself all qualities that can prove him equal to the occasion. The higher he rises in the ranks of leadership, the more he feels the need of arming himself with these qualities.

It is perhaps not easy to find one single member combining all these qualities together and in the manner we desire. But this should only lead us to always strain our endeavours in search of such an ideal member and in trying to make every member as near to these ideal qualities as possible.

14) Perhaps the most outstanding quality the party member needs is faith in the Party's revolutionary role in changing the face of the Arab society. This faith

just copy the experiments of others but we must not either shut our eyes to such experiments. Rather, we must apprise ourselves of them and adapt what is suitable to our conditions.

16) The party member also needs to arm himself with party perception which is something other than culture. Perception has to do with our inner feeling concerning the historic role of our society, the factors that got hold of it,

the revolutionary role of our Party, our revolutionary duties and our aspirations, the obstacles that come in our way, the residues of backwardness in our society, and ways to deal with them.

With such perception, general culture runs its full positive course. Rather than remaining mere knowledgeability for one's own sake or mere transcription of what is in the books, this culture will be the incarnation of world culture translated into actual perception and into a road we tread. The culture we acquire under conditions of party perception become an integral part of us and of our perception. By contrast, the culture we acquire without party perception cannot be properly utilised.

17) The party member needs to be lovable, not repellent. He should be near to the hearts of people, freely mingling with them, showing no airs of condescension or haughtiness but rather championing their causes within the limits of the Party programmes. He should also be capable of directing and influencing others, be brisk and active and not secluded behind desks, nor arrogant on account of his education, culture or society. These qualities do not easily lend themselves for acquisition, but it is hard to understand how a party member can discharge his duties without arming himself with them.

18) The party member should bind himself by the Party's thought — digesting it,

of the Party. He must not allow himself the latitude hesitating in discharging the or committing himself to them. Later, he can discuss them or criticise them within the framework of Party Regulations.

19) The party member must not carry with him into the party the residues of his society. Within the Party, there should be no communalism, family affiliations, personal associations, tribalism, racialism, prejudice in favour of one against another or in favour of one group of productive elements against another such as being with workers against the peasants, or vice versa. Finally there should be no grouping within the Party and associations conflicting with outside its framework.

Although these passive characteristics are all foregone conclusions, yet they seem to have infiltrated the ranks of our Party as can be seen from the Party's organisational reports. Their presence constitutes a challenge that must be met and overcome. We must keep in mind that amputation, dismissal and other penalties might be indispensable to the Party for getting rid of elements contracting such incurable diseases. The first, and the only, remedy should be by practising positive work and shouldering popular responsibilities. The biggest factor contributing to the spread of such ills is party inactivity.

20) No party member and no party group must become arrogant as to assume that they are the party's spokesmen. In spite of the conditions that surrounded the Party in the past, in spite of the Party's disbandment during the period of unity, in spite of the fact that the Party was not properly organised after that; the disqualified elements entered the Party after the revolution that Party members acted on their own initiative in committing conspiracies, and the Party's guidance and discipline were

IRAQI PORTS ADMINISTRATION

TENDER

FOR THE SUPPLY OF

Tenderers are invited to tender for the supply of which closes at 12.00 26th May 1971.

And if the offers

AMME OF THE A.B.S.P.

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20) No party member and no party group must become so arrogant as to assume that they are the party's spokesmen. In spite of the conditions that surrounded the Party in the past; in spite of the Party's disbandment during the period of unity; in spite of the fact that the Party was not properly organised after that; that disqualified elements entered the Party after the revolution; that Party members acted on their own initiative in combating conspiracies, and the Party guidance and discipline were in

most cases absent — in spite of the fact that the above circumstances had impelled various groups of party members to undertake unilateral action, time is up for the Party to put an end to all such practices.

Every party member should know that he has limits beyond which he must not go. When he accepted the party's membership, he had cast aside his personal impulses and replaced them with adherence to the general Party line as formulated by Party conventions and leadership in the pyramid of the Party's general structure.

21) No party member should assume that he stands above responsibility or above penalty, whether by the Party or the ruling authority. Evading penalty and seeking protection by the Party against the authority conceals an air of supremacy, opportunism and self-seeking. It also casts a slur on the Party's name among the non-committal masses which must be convinced that joining the Party is not a privilege but a responsibility and that the party member stands on equal footing with other revolutionary loyal citizens before the law.

22) By shouldering the historic responsibility to which it has addressed itself, the Party should keep in mind that its assignment is not confined to changing the face of Arab society in each Arab country but also to presenting itself as a progressive revolutionary party on the pan-Arab level and, beyond that, set an example for emulation by other parties the world over.

As such, the party member must appreciate his historic role and conduct himself in such a manner as can make of him worthy of discharging his mission in a spirit of constant self-sacrifice, limitless devotion, holding oneself above personal matters and getting completely assimilated in the masses and in the Party's mission.

IRAQI PORTS ADMINISTRATION — BASRAH

NOTICE

TENDER NO. 40/71

FOR THE SUPPLY OF LOW TENSION UNDER GROUND CABLES

Tenderers are invited to participate in the Tender for the supply and delivery of the above which closes at 12.00 hours on Wednesday the

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Party members are to be selected from among these partisans who must have proved in the days of candidature, their maturity, activism, discipline, adherence popularity and rejection of all residues of the 'ancien regime' such as tribalism, sectarianism and family prejudices.

12) Within the Party, the party member enjoys all the rights and shoulders all responsibilities of membership. He exercises these rights in an atmosphere of freedom which, however, must be bound by the Party's Constitution, its ideas, doctrines, its orders, its programmes and its mode of work.

The democracy to which the Party has committed itself and which is an inseparable part of its structure and its philosophy has assured to the party member the right of electing party leaderships, and questioning these leaderships. But this democracy does not mean that the Party has absolute freedom in respect to these two fields. Each party member has



able or most eloquent among them is not necessarily the ideal leader. Every member should summon his party conscience in analysing all factors that make of a candidate a good party leader

Democracy has also assured to the party member the freedom of questioning the leadership. But it is a freedom bound to all party directives, both written and unwritten, such as showing doctrinal respect to the leaderships, appreciating the circumstances of work surrounding them, putting forward points of discussion in an objective not subjective or opportunistic manner and steering clear or splinter groups, etc.

13) In an assignment such as the one to which we are addressing ourselves, the party member must combine in himself all qualities that can prove him equal to the occasion. The higher he rises in the ranks of leadership, the more he feels the need of arming himself with these qualities.

It is perhaps not easy to find one single member combining all these qualities together and in the manner we desire. But this should only lead us to always strain our endeavours in search of such an ideal member and in trying to make every member as near to these ideal qualities as possible.

14) Perhaps the most outstanding quality the party member needs is faith in the Party's revolutionary role in changing the face of the Arab society. This faith cannot, however, be had merely by knowledgeability, culture or mental conviction, but rather by arduous struggle, sense of self-sacrifice, practice of revolutionary work, endurance in the face of troubles and hard times and refusal to bend either to pressure, terror or inducement.

15) The party member needs constant education and should remain up-to-date about what is going on in his own and other environments. Culture alone cannot make a party member, but the party member needs culture so that his perception of things may become wider and deeper. True, we must not

forget the revolutionary role of our Party, our revolutionary duties and our aspirations, the obstacles that come in our way, the residues of backwardness in our society, and ways to deal with them.

With such perception, general culture runs its full positive course. Rather than remaining mere knowledgeability for one's own sake or mere transcription of what is in the books, this culture will be the incarnation of world culture translated into actual perception and into a road we tread. The culture we acquire under conditions of party perception become an integral part of us and of our perception. By contrast, the culture we acquire without party perception cannot be properly utilised.

17) The party member needs to be lovable, not repellent. He should be near to the hearts of people, freely mingling with them, showing no airs of condescension or haughtiness but rather championing their causes within the limits of the Party programmes. He should also be capable of directing and influencing others, be brisk and active and not secluded behind desks, nor arrogant on account of his education, culture or society. These qualities do not easily lend themselves for acquisition, but it is hard to understand how a party member can discharge his duties without arming himself with them.

18) The party member should bind himself by the Party's thought — digesting it, impersonating it and abiding by it. The Party is not a collection of ideas, or schools of thought. Rather, the Party is held together by a developing doctrine which, while evolving from stage to stage, never develops any contradictions or ramifications. This does not mean that every party member should be, in his thought, a mere copy of other party member, but dialogue and difference should be restricted within the Party's ideological line, not outside of it.

In addition to adherence to the Party's ideological line, the party member should abide by the orders and programmes

of one group of productive elements against another such as being with the workers against the peasants, or vice versa. Finally there should be no grouping within the Party and associations conflicting with outside its framework.

Although these passive characteristics are all foregoing conclusions, yet they seem to have infiltrated the ranks of our Party as can be seen from the Party's organisational reports. Their presence constitutes a challenge that must be met and overcome. We must keep in mind that amputation, dismissal and other penalties might be indispensable to the Party for getting rid of elements contracting such incurable diseases. The first, and a real remedy should be by practising positive work and strengthening popular responsibilities. The biggest factor contributing to the spread of such ills is party inactivity.

20) No party member and no party group must become arrogant as to assume that they are the party's spokesmen. In spite of the conditions that surrounded the Party in the past; in spite of the Party's disbandment during the period of unity; in spite of the fact that the Party was not properly organised after that; the disqualified elements entered the Party after the revolution that Party members acted on their own initiative in combating conspiracies, and the Party guidance and discipline were in

IRAQI PORTS ADMINISTRATION NO TENDER FOR THE SUPPLY OF GROUND

Tenderers are invited to tender for the supply of ground which closes at 12.00 26th May 1971.

And if the offers are to be registered and the sure that this offer to be registered as required in the Tender Box at the Administration Maqalat marked Tender No. 4 Low Tension under Ground Forms of Tender sent from the Purchasing Ports Administration, representative of Iraqi Ports Ministry of Communications working hours on payment not be refunded).

Sells of Tender Day.
Baghdad Observer No



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21) No party member should assume that he stands above responsibility or above penalty, whether by the Party or the ruling authority. Evading penalty and seeking protection by the Party against the authority conceals an air of supremacy, opportunism and self-seeking. It also casts a slur on the Party's name among the non-committal masses which must be convinced that joining the Party is not a privilege but a responsibility and that the party member stands on equal footing with other revolutionary loyal citizens before the law.

22) By shouldering the historic responsibility to which it has addressed itself, the Party should keep in mind that its assignment is not confined to changing the face of Arab society in each Arab country but also to presenting itself as a progressive revolutionary party on the pan-Arab level and, beyond that, set an example for emulation by other parties the world over.

As such, the party member must appreciate his historic role and conduct himself in such a manner as can make of him worthy of discharging his mission in a spirit of constant self-sacrifice, limitless devotion, holding oneself above personal matters and getting completely assimilated in the masses and in the Party's mission.

IRAQI PORTS ADMINISTRATION — BASRAH

NOTICE

TENDER NO. 40/71

FOR THE SUPPLY OF LOW TENSION UNDER GROUND CABLES

Tenderers are invited to participate in the Tender for the supply and delivery of the above, which closes at 12.00 hours on Wednesday the 26th May 1971.

And if the offers be sent by post they must be registered and the bidder is required to insure that this offer together with all the documents as required in the Tender Form to reach the Tender Box at the H.Q. of the Iraqi Ports Administration Maqal on the date fixed and marked Tender No. 40/71 For The Supply Of Low Tension under Ground Cables.

Forms of Tender in duplicate may be obtained from the Purchase and Tender Office, Iraqi Ports Administration, Basrah, or from the Representative of Iraqi Ports Administration in the Ministry of Communications, Baghdad, during working hours on payment of ID. 1/- (which will not be refunded).

Sells of Tender Documents will stop on Sunday.

Baghdad Observer No. 972, Dated 7/4/1971.

AYSAMI'S REMINISCENCES ON BIRTH OF BAA

(Continued from page 3)

can go on serving well the interests of humanity as a whole once the Arab nation attained to its objective in respect to unity, liberty and socialism thereby becoming once again in a position to play an effective and positive role among the powerful and developing nations of the world. In this we discern the sense of immortality, i.e. the ability of the Arab nation to constantly rejuvenate and contribute in a creative manner to the advance of humanity."

IRAQ AS A BAAH PARTY 'MODEL' RULE

Comrade Aysami has also spoken of the 'model' rule which the Arab Baath Socialist Party is seeking to establish in Iraq and said that the Palestine issue has become the touchstone for testing all forces and determining the extent of their revolutionary spirit.

Comrade Aysami, who was speaking in another interview with the Iraqi News Agency on the 24th anniversary of the party's founding; also said that there could be no alternative to revolutionary war for regaining Palestine. Following are some of the questions put to Comrade Aysami and his answers to them:

Q — Iraq is proceeding in steady steps towards the establishment of an Arab revolutionary socialist system. This makes Iraq historically

responsible for the achievement of the party's targets. Could you discuss this matter which the party's 10th congress termed as the 'model'?

A — The party is doubly seeking to attain to its targets in the most appropriate manner and aspires to make of its rule in Iraq model worthy of emulation. The blows delivered to the forces of reaction and the liquidation of their strongholds and economic and other establishments side by side with the liquidation of spy cells; the settlement of the Kurdish issue in a peaceful and democratic manner; the national exploitation of the country's resources; the consolidation of the forces of workers and peasants; the promulgation of progressive legislation in the fields of agrarian reform, labour and social security; the promotion of the volunteer labour experiment and the pursuance of a revolutionary foreign policy — all bear irrevocable testimony to the soundness of the socialist progressive trends distinguishing rule in Iraq. We have high hopes that Iraq will set the example.

Q — How can one define the dimensions of the contemporary battle waged by the Arab nation?

A — Without doubt, the current battle is a fateful one. It is a battle of destiny because the ferocity of the Zionist imperialist onslaught seeks not only the liquidation of the Palestine revolution but also the

strangulation of the spirit of endurance and the revolutionary spirit with the Arab nation.

UNITED FRONT

Q — The party's 10th national congress laid stress on accommodation to coordinated endeavours mounted by a united front. To what extent has the party succeeded in discharging this nationalist mission?

A — The party believes that the coalition of all progressive forces within the framework of a united front is a necessity dictated by the hard conditions and great dangers confronting the Arab nation. Sadly, however, some complexes, sensitivities and old reser's streaks continue to work effects on the policies pursued by such progressive forces thereby preventing the achievement of scientific and effective formulae based on the premise of a coordinated front. However, the party has not despaired of the possibility of building such a front on both the home and pan-Arab levels. It still seeks objective circumstances paving the road for such formulae.

ROAD OF LIBERATION

Q — It has been a matter of doctrinal belief by the party since its inception that the road of the liberation of Palestine is the road of armed struggle something which has been borne out by history. How can one define the dimensions of the

Arab battle in the light of the party's appraisal of the battle in Palestine?

A — It has become a reality clear that the liberation of Palestine just cannot be achieved by peaceful and non-violent methods. This is a fact which has been borne out by the experience of all struggles of the Arab nation. The history of the Palestine issue confirms, more than anything else, this. The frequent revolutionaries tried out by the Arabs of Palestine since the end of World War I should not have been it not for the intention of defeatist politicians arrested the advance of revolution by means of tactical measures and halfheartedness. Accordingly, the leadership of the Resistance Movement must bear a great historical responsibility at this stage when some Arab leaders have brought the Palestine issue to the verge of liquidation. This responsibility rests upon the leaderships of the Resistance Movement and the necessity of unifying the Resistance Movement on durable effective foundations. They so are required to heed the lessons of their own and other peoples and the revolutions around the world. There can be no alternative to revolutionary war as a reply to the liquidationist compromise solutions and the recovery of Palestine.

'PROGRESSIVES' CROSS-ROADS

Q — The Palestine issue has placed progressive forces on cross-roads apart revolutionary and the lack of it. What can this have on the party's relations with us organisations and masses?

A — Erroneous tactics involving exaggerations in assessment of the pre-Jordanian situation along with mistakes and passive side by side with the masses by means of false propaganda organizing out the role of the masses and imposing tutelage upon them along with the revolutionary organizations — all these led to the defeat. That defeat is the false pretences of some institutions as a tenacious character. As of fact those regimes committed themselves to par with reactionary forces and rulers up to their necks in the mud of treason and the recovery of Tunisia. Re-

THE A.B.S.P CONSTITUTION

(Continued from page 3)

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

ARTICLE 1:

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ARTICLE 2:

The Party's headquarters are presently in Damascus and might be moved to any other Arab city should nationalist interests dictate this.

ARTICLE 3:

The A.B.S.P. is a nationalist party which believes that nationalism is a living and immortal fact and that the conscious nationalist feeling closely holding to one's nation is a sacred feeling that abounds in creative forces, stimulates self-sacrifice, gives rise to a sense

enduring fraternity among its ranks.

ARTICLE 6:

The A.B.S.P. is a popular party which believes that sovereignty belongs to the people, which alone is the source of every authority and leadership, and that the value of the state emanates from the state's reflection of the will of the masses, and that the sacredness of the state depends on the extent of the freedom by which it was elected by the masses.

Accordingly, the Party, in the discharge of its mission, depends upon the people and always seeks the closest contacts with the people and the uplifting of their intellectual, ethical, economic and public health standards so that they could feel their own identity and practise their rights whether on individual or national levels.

ARTICLE 6:

The Arab Baath Socialist

ARTICLE 7:

The Arab homeland is the area populated by the Arab nation, situated between the Taurus mountains, the Punthaku mountains, the Gulf of Basrah, the Arabian Sea, the Ethiopian mountains, the great Sahara, the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea.

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AYSAMI'S REMINISCENCES ON BIRTH OF BAATH PARTY

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Q — The Palestine issue has placed progressive Arab forces on cross-roads telling apart revolutionary spirit and the lack of it. What bearing can this have on the party's relations with various organisations and regimes?

A — Erroneous tactics involving exaggerations in the assessment of the pre-June 5 situation along with ignoring mistakes and passive attitudes side by side with misleading the masses by means of powerful propaganda organs, cancelling out the role of the masses and imposing tutelage upon them along with splintering the revolutionary organisations — all these led to the June defeat. That defeat laid bare the false pretences made by some institutions as to revolutionary character. As a matter of fact those regimes have permitted themselves to sit on a par with reactionary institutions and rulers up to their necks in the mud of treason such as the rulers of Tunisia. Reactionary

been arrayed in either of two positions: steadfastness and endurance in the prosecution of armed struggle, or opting for peaceful solutions which in effect mean submitting to the accomplished fact, consecrating the June defeat, recognising the Zionist structure and trailing behind the forces of imperialism and reaction.

ARAB GULF AND ALIEN SETTLERS

Q — Our people in the Arab Gulf and in the Arab South are engaged in a fierce struggle against the imperialistic occupation and an invasion of alien settlers, something which threatens a new disaster. Can you elaborate on this?

A — The party's attitude is clear towards the question of the settler-invasion directed against the Arab Gulf. The party is resolved to fight this invasion with all the power at its disposal. The party will spare no endeavour for preserving the Arab character of the Gulf. This is a fundamental issue for our nationalist struggle.

'TWO SIDES OF ONE TRUTH'

Q — The party's 10th congress, in its analysis of the contemporary Arab struggle, stressed that the nationalist aspect and the socialist aspect are two sides of one truth. Would you elaborate on this?

A — Liberation movements and popular revolutions of the Third World have confirmed a truth long advocated by the Arab Baath Socialist Party. This truth pertains to national struggle and its importance. This is because nationalist incentives are of great influence in propelling all the forces of the nation to achieve liberation from the imperialistic domination and its pillars namely, reaction, feudalism and backward institutions based on unjust distribution of wealth.

Further, this nationalist struggle does not, in the party's opinion, conflict with the class struggle. This is because the party, right from the day of its inception, has emphasized the necessity of giving a helping hand to the toiling masses, relying on them and giving them a basic role in leading the revolution and attaining to its social objectives. — INA.

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A.B.S.P CONSTITUTION

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THE A.B.S.P. CONSTITUTION

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The nationalist idea advocated by the Party is the will of the Arab people to get liberated and united, to be given the opportunity to fulfil the Arab identity in history and cooperate with other nations for safeguarding to humanity its advance towards goodness and universality.

ARTICLE 4:

The A.B.S.P. believes that socialism is a necessary stemming from the essence of Arab nationalism and reckons with it as the ideal system which permits the Arab people to make the fullest use of their possibilities, thus guaranteeing to the nation steady rise in moral and material production and

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ARTICLE 11:

Expatriated from the Arab homeland shall be anyone who advocates or joins a racist group against the Arabs or who immigrates into the Arab homeland for colonial purposes.

ARTICLE 12:

Arab women enjoy full rights of citizenship. The Party struggles for uplifting the standards of women so that they can become worthy of these rights.

ARTICLE 13:

Advancing to the principle of equal opportunities in education and economic life so that all countrymen could reveal their true capacities to the utmost limit, in all spheres of intellectual, economic, social and political aspects of life, human activity.

'PROGRESSIVES CROSS-ROAD

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'PROGRESSIVES' ON CROSS-ROADS

Q — The Palestine issue has placed progressive Arab forces on cross-roads, telling apart revolutionary spirit and the lack of it. What bearing can this have on the party's relations with various organisations and regimes?

A — Erroneous tactics involving exaggerations in the assessment of the pre-June 5 situation along with ignoring mistakes and passive attitudes side by side with misleading the masses by means of powerful propaganda organs, cancelling out the role of the masses and imposing tutelage upon them along with splintering the revolutionary organisations — all these led to the June defeat. That defeat laid bare the false pretences made by some institutions as to revolutionary character. As a matter of fact those regimes have permitted themselves to sit on a par with reactionary institutions and rulers up to their necks in the mud of treason such as the rulers of Tunisia. Reactionary institutions and progressive institutions came, as it were, to terms and established a 'modus vivendi' on the treatment of the Palestine issue. They opted for the so-called peaceful solution which in reality is a surrender solution leading to the consolidation of the Zionist structure and the liquidation of the Palestine issue. That being so, the revolutionary forces ought to have closed their ranks and resolved to frustrate such plans. In my opinion, the Palestine issue has become the touchstone for testing all forces and detecting the extent of their revolutionary character. Surely, the tactics, propaganda and slogans that proceeded the June disaster cannot possibly remain the same in the minds of the people today. All forces have

istic occupation and an invasion of alien settlers, something which threatens a new disaster. Can you elaborate on this?

A — The party's attitude is clear towards the question of the settler-invasion directed against the Arab Gulf. The party is resolved to fight this invasion with all the power at its disposal. The party will spare no endeavour for preserving the Arab character of the Gulf. This is a fundamental issue for our nationalist struggle.

'TWO SIDES OF ONE TRUTH'

Q — The party's 10th congress, in its analysis of the contemporary Arab struggle, stressed that the nationalist aspect and the socialist aspect are two sides of one truth. Would you elaborate on this?

A — Liberation movements and popular revolutions of the Third World have confirmed a truth long advocated by the Arab Baath Socialist Party. This truth pertains to national struggle and its importance. This is because nationalist incentives are of great influence in propelling all the forces of the nation to achieve liberation from the imperialistic domination and its pillars namely, reaction, feudalism and backward institutions based on unjust distribution of wealth.

Further, this nationalist struggle does not, in the party's opinion, conflict with the class struggle. This is because the party, right from the day of its inception, has emphasized the necessity of giving a helping hand to the toiling masses, relying on them and giving them a basic role in leading the revolution and attaining to its social objectives. — INA.

A.B.S.P CONSTITUTION

enduring fraternity among its ranks.

ARTICLE 6:

The A.B.S.P. is a popular party which believes that sovereignty belongs to the people, which alone is the source of every authority and leadership, and that the value of the state emanates from the state's reflection of the will of the masses, and that the sacredness of the state depends on the extent of the freedom by which it was elected by the masses.

Accordingly, the Party, in the discharge of its mission, depends upon the people and always seeks the closest contacts with the people and the uplifting of their intellectual, ethical, economic and public health standards so that they could feel their own identity and practise their rights whether on individual or nationalist levels.

ARTICLE 6:

The Arab Baath Socialist Party is a revolutionary party. It believes that its main objectives in resurrecting Arab nationalism and building socialism can be achieved only by revolution and struggle.

It also believes that dependence on slow evolution and settling down to superficial reforms constitute a threat to these goals. Accordingly the Party decrees the following:

(A) — Struggle against foreign colonialism for the complete and absolute liberation of the Arab homeland.

(B) — Struggle for gathering the Arabs together in one independent state.

(C) Effecting a complete break with the corrupt conditions in a manner encompassing all intellectual, economic, social and political aspects of life.

ARTICLE 7:

The Arab homeland is the area populated by the Arab nation, situated between the Taurus mountains, the Pushtaku mountains, the Gulf of Basrah, the Arabian Sea, the Ethiopian mountains, the great Sahara, the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea.

ARTICLE 8:

The official language of the state and the recognised language in writing and instruction is the Arabic language.

ARTICLE 9:

The flag of the Arab state is the flag of the Arab Revolution which broke out in 1916 with the object of liberating and uniting the Arab nation.

ARTICLE 10:

An Arab is one whose mother language is Arabic, who lives or aspires to live in Arab land and who believes in his belongingness to the Arab nation.

ARTICLE 11:

Evacuated from the Arab homeland shall be anyone who advocates or joins a racial grouping against the Arabs or who immigrates into the Arab homeland for colonial purposes.

ARTICLE 12:

Arab women enjoy full rights of citizenship. The Party struggles for uplifting the standards of women so that they can become worthy of these rights.

ARTICLE 13:

Attaining to the principle of equal opportunities in education and economic life so that all countrymen could reveal their true capacities to the utmost limit, in all spheres of human activity.

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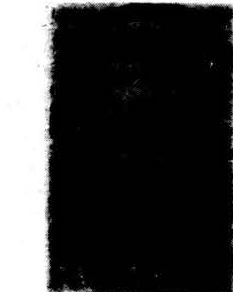
Views of workers, peasants intellectuals

Workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals constitute a massive force in the political organisation of the Baath Party. The leaders of the above organisation were interviewed by the Baghdad Observer on the occasion of the 24th anniversary of the A.B.S.P.'s foundation.

FEDERATION OF PEASANT ASSOCIATIONS

Sd. Hussein Sayid Jaber, Chairman of the Federation of Peasant Associations said: This anniversary is a glorious one, acclaimed and commemorated by the masses every year, because it is the outbreak of a new dawn, when the first revo-

lutionary party was born in the Arab land, upon which the masses have pinned their hopes, and in whose principles and values they have placed their faith.



Hussein Sayid JABER

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The A.B.S.P. is a revolutionary party, which has sprung out of the awareness of the masses' sufferings and the corrupt reality through which they have been giving before its birth. From this point of departure the Party was born as a revolution against backwardness, hunger, disease, and imperialism which is the real cause of all these phenomena in our Arab society. Thus the Party has relied upon the toiling masses as the basis for carrying out its plans for bringing happiness to the broadest masses and wrenching their rights which had been usurped by twisted methods. The support received from the masses was an absolute one blended with deep conviction that it was the Leader Party which could realise all their aims.

Thus, our Party came out fighting in the midst of the masses and on a Pan-Arab scale, combatting imperialism and reaction, and at the same time, backwardness in all forms, whether intellectual or material, regarding the consciousness of the toiling masses

ces, by erupting the great, immortal 17th July Revolution of 1968. These are only parts of the great miracles of the A.B.S.P., the thorn pricking the eyes of imperialism and reaction. The A.B.S.P. is the party of the Arab Nation, the party of the workers, peasants and all poor people; the party of the Palestinian revolution the party which has rejected capitulation and all liquidationist settlements — and all for the sake of the supreme causes of the Arab Nation.

On this occasion I congratulate the workers and peasants on their Leader Party and their great revolution, fully convinced that the rays of the A.B.S.P. will sweep out all the clouds off the sky of the Arab Nation, from the Ocean to the Gulf. A thousand greetings to the Party leaders and strugglers wherever they may be.

GENERAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

Sd. Mohammed Avesh, President of the General Trade Union Federation said:

The General Trade Union Federation in Iraq as a mass organisation representing the widest sectors of our people, regards this occasion as a national holiday for all Arabs, especially their toiling classes, because the foundation of the A.B.S.P. was the first revolutionary call to ourselves, realising their aspiration for a scientific, socialist theory for transcending the backwardness and artificial fragmentation of the Arab homeland



Mohammed AYESH

THE GENERAL FEDERATION OF IRAQI WOMEN

Miss Lamees Qassim Hammoudi, the Secretary of the General Federation of Iraqi Women said:



Miss L. Q. HAMMOUDI

Nothing indicates the greatness of Arab Baath Socialist Party and its vitality more than its realism in dealing with the plans of economic development and its positive interaction with the March of Arab revolution and the world liberation movements.

April 7 which witnesses the 24th anniversary of the foundation of the Party is a glorious historic day which is joyously celebrated by the toiling masses.

On this great occasion, unions, federations and popular organisations hold with high esteem the principles of the Party and bless the lofty measures it has adopted to achieve the goals and aspirations of the people.

Says she: "The General Federation of Iraqi Women congratulates the progressive July 17 Revolution on the occasion of the foundation of the Party and appraises the eminent principles raised highly by the Party. We are very confident that the Party will lead the Arab masses throughout the Arab homeland and achieve its objectives as well as its slogans in unity, liberty and socialism. These slogans truly manifest the hopes and aspirations of our Arab people. Through these objectives, the Party endeavours to liberate man from all kinds of exploitation.

"The achievements gained by Iraqi women who are freed under the courageous leadership of our Party are closely linked with the liberation of all classes from the bondages of ignorance, poverty and disease. Here, we do assert, in the name of all Iraqi women, that Arab women in Iraq will be the

"Our union considers it one of the Arab revolution butaries, imbued with this, have to interact with the revolution. It is our duty to rich and interact with its m

ch. We are not exaggerating say that the birth of the Party has signified the emergence of the Arab revolution. This is due to the sacrifices offered by the Party so as to deep and develop the line of revolution.

The foundation of the Party has been a turning point in the history of Arab Nation, a decisive reply against backwardness and partition and genuine response to the aspirations of our Arab people at their toiling masses.

"With its high struggling spirit, the Party has given push to the glorious march of students' movement in the country. A.B.S.P. has widened new avenues of struggle and by virtue of its ideological theory and struggling comradeship, it has been able to give genuine picture of the state of the nation and its unlimited capabilities.



DURDUB

"The Party was born at a time when it was greatly needed. Unlike other lost political movements, which have failed to realize their responsibilities or achieve their goals, it fought out its way and victory.

What has really distinguished A.B.S.P. from other political movements is that it succeeded in linking between the class struggle and the national struggle. The concepts have been the heart of a pure revolutionary thought representing the sole channel of the struggle was by backward peoples. A.B.S.P. has always been inflaming the struggling spirit of this people and thus deepening the awareness of this nation and stimulating it to continue its struggles.

of workers, peasants and actuals

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and develop the line of this message of the nation. In its
revolution. victorious march, the Party
has always been an inexhaus-
tible source of deep-rooted re-
volutionary values and thou-
ghts. It has realised its respon-
sibility as a party of all Arab
masses, always developing and
renewing itself, believing that
through the employment of the
scientific revolutionary theory
can it win victory and over-
come all obstacles lying in the
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The Teachers' Union in
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anniversary of the Party bir-
thday and congratulating the
masses of Arab Nation on
this glorious occasion, feels
confidently that the great mar-
ch which has withstood time
and impediments will be more
capable, through its revolu-
tionary practice and vitality,
of continuing playing its tri-
umphant historical role in achie-
ving the objectives of our na-
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Thus, our Party came out fighting in the midst of the masses and on a Pan-Arab scale, combatting imperialism and reaction, and at the same time, backwardness in all forms, whether intellectual or material, regarding the consciousness of the toiling masses of their reality as the correct basis for turning all the Arabs into a single nation enjoying the freedom without any obstruction.

In the meantime the Arab arena was never devoid of the struggle and miracles of the A.B.S.P. In Syria the A.B.S.P. fought for unity in 1956 and achieved it with great sacrifices. In 1963 there was the great miracle and glorious epic, when the autocratic rule in Iraq, embodied in Abdul Kerim Qassem, was destroyed, followed by the March revolution of the A.B.S.P. in Syria, which destroyed the separatist regime in this beloved country. After the June setback the A.B.S.P. carried out its duty as dictated by the circumstan-

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Mohammed AYESH

The General Trade Union Federation has raised the slogan: "7th April is a day of work", as a guide for the scientific comprehension of the revolutionary value of this day, which was a decisive one in the history of Arab struggle, when the Arab revolutionary movement and its first congress on April 7, 1947 transcended all the traditional mentalities and backward leaderships, as well as all the regional organisations which have been confined within artificial barriers, then got shrivelled and died.

The day of revolutionary work, the day of April 7 is the real holiday for our Arab revolution and its toiling classes.

Mrs. L. Q. HAMMOUDI

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"The achievements gained by Iraqi women who are freed under the courageous leadership of our Party are closely linked with the liberation of all classes from the bondages of ignorance, poverty and disease. Here, we do assert, in the name of all Iraqi women, that Arab woman in Iraq will be the faithful soldier in the battle of liberation and construction. For the great achievements made by the Party, we can't but congratulate our struggling comrades on this glorious occasion expecting more and more achievements that lead our Arab masses towards progress and the fulfilment of our humanitarian immortal message

THE NATIONAL UNION OF IRAQI STUDENTS

In appraisal of the significant role played by A.B.S.P. Sd. Jassim Dubdub Secretary of the Union said:

the history of Arab Nation, a decisive reply against backwardness and partition and a genuine response to the aspirations of our Arab people and their toiling masses.

"With its high struggling spirit, the Party has given a push to the glorious march of students' movement in the country. A.B.S.P. has widened new avenues of struggle and, by virtue of its ideological theory and struggling comradeship, it has been able to give a genuine picture of the status of the nation and its unlimited capabilities.



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What has really distinguished A.B.S.P. from other political movements is that it has succeeded in linking between the class struggle and that of the national struggle. These concepts have been the herald of a pure revolutionary thought representing the sound channel of the struggle waged by backward peoples. A.B.S.P. has always been inflaming the struggling spirit of this people and thus deepening the awareness of this nation and stimulating it to continue its just struggles.

"We can't but greet the Party's strugglers who have accompanied its march and those martyrs who have sacrificed themselves for the sake of the liberty and the dignity of our Arab people"

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Sd. Issam Abid Ali, First Deputy of the President of the Teachers Union said: "Undoubtedly, the birth of Arab Baath Socialist Party has never resembled that of other political movements witnessed by our people throughout the Arab homeland. Nor has it been a traditional birth occurring wi-

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can it win victory and overcome all obstacles lying in the way.

The Teachers' Union in Iraq, while greeting the 24th anniversary of the Party birthday and congratulating the masses of Arab Nation on this glorious occasion, feels confidently that the great march which has withstood time and impediments will be more capable, through its revolutionary practice and vitality, of continuing playing its triumphant historical role in achieving the objectives of our nation.

On this occasion we have to speak highly of the role of the pioneers who have begun this march and respectfully bow to the martyrs who have enlightened the path of the future with their blood.

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APPRAISAL OF THE STRATEGY AT THE CURRENT STAGE

FROM THE REPORT OF THE ARAB BAATH
SOCIALIST PARTY'S NINTH NATIONAL
LEADERSHIP CONVENTION (1967)

1. No Arab can possibly exaggerate the gravity of the stage through which the Arab nation is passing nowadays. This is because we are now going through a decisive stage which might well lead to a real resurrection of the Arab nation provided we prove ourselves capable of appraising the concomitant circumstances and conduct ourselves in accordance with the scientific revolutionary logic.

Conversely, this stage might invite a major disaster over the head of this nation if the Arabs were to hold on to the outdated methods whose futility in tackling the issues of this nation has once again been borne out by the disaster. As a revolutionary movement, we must analyse the obtaining conditions by a new revolutionary logic and scientific methods that can deliver the Arab nation from the dangers of extermination to which it is now exposed. In our position which distinguishes us from other popular Arab movements, we bear a major responsibility as a result of which not only the fate of the Party but also the fate of the nation might be determined. We must conduct ourselves with corresponding depth in our appraisal of the run of events.

2 — The roots of the present catastrophe.

The gravity of the present set-back and our appraisal of it as a challenge of destiny to the Arab nation, spring from the fact that the set-back did not come as the result of outside conditions alone but also as a result of the nation's own conditions in the first place. As such, the catastrophe which descended upon us was not the byproduct only of the foreign aggression of June 5 but also of the internal developments of the Arab nation starting with the nation's first defeat in the face of the Zionist aggression back in 1948.

Among the major symptoms were the downfall of unity (between Syria and Egypt) in 1961, the abortion of the April 17 Pact and the two coups d'état of November 18 and February 23.

The new catastrophe has come to tell us once more that the Arab leaderships which

3. Once we treat the circumstances of the present crisis in scientific manner we will inevitably arrive at one of the important methods to which the Arab nation must make resource in countering foreign aggression, namely, the creation of a popular nationalist front which will take care of organising armed struggle on long term basis.

As a revolutionary party, we are required to put forward a strategy appropriate to the present circumstances — a strategy involving an answer to the foreign challenge and setting the stage for the settlement of the nation's internal questions. In other words, the Party should endeavour to bring up a front of armed struggle against Israel and consequently develop this front into a revolutionary one effecting the required root changes.

4 — The latest imperialistic aggression and its dimensions.

There has been much talk all over the world concerning

the objectives of the latest aggression and the interests of its various parties. One thing common among to all of those objectives—a thing that depicts the dimensions and goals of the aggression — is fear of a united Arab nation that carries the possibility of eliminating once and for ever all traces of imperialism in our Arab region.

The timing of the aggression was not something fortuitous. It was rather planned and pre-designed ever since the run of events in the Arab world began to point out to the possibility of the emergence of a new popular revolutionary line depending on the logic of armed struggle and capable of overstepping the current revolutionary institutions which failed to attain to their real goals concerning unity, liberty and socialism.

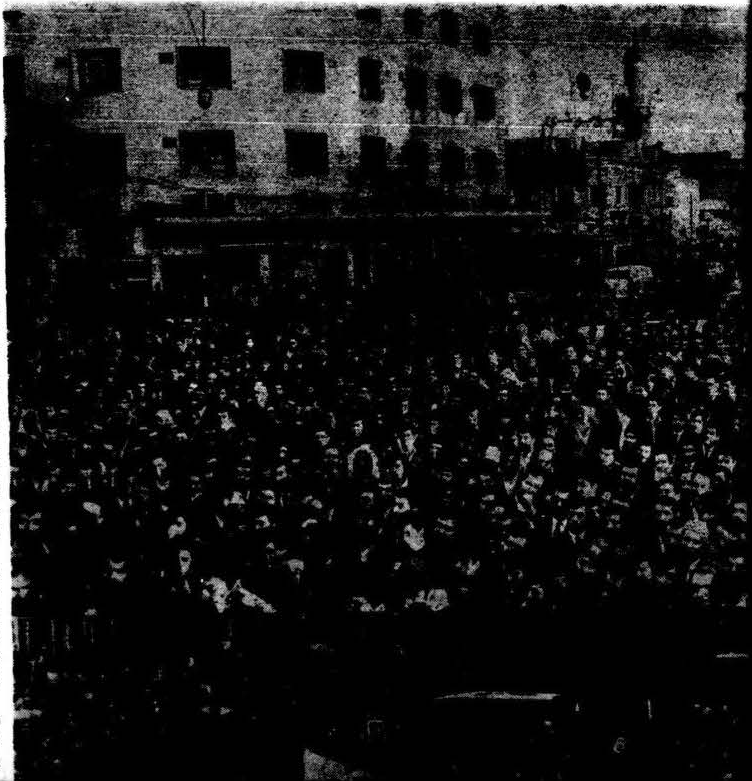
Anyone who reads western newspapers in the days following the June aggression must have discerned a common goal for all of the parties joining in the aggression, namely to destroy anything Arab through destroying the self-confidence of the masses, and their faith in unity and in their ca-

pability to face up to problems without expecting help from world imperialism and can imperialism in power and through magnifying power of the Zionist army and depicting him a beast that would swoop Arab nation the moment nation tried to break from imperialistic fold.

The blitz war which imperialists declared on Arab nation has managed to leave for them the large portion of their goal. Now they are keeping up the pressure after the traditionalist revolutionary Arab institution an to crumble in the face of this threat.

5 — The inevitability of armed collision and completion of the revolution.

Any objective observer of the events that have been developing in the Arab east the planning for aggression began, will realise that a serious battle was inevitable and that the present conditions are incapable of stability is because the aggression not yet attained to its goal because the present conditions are rather explosive and use the Arab people and revolutionary forces will settle down to anything of removing the bases



SAL OF THE STRATEGY OF CURRENT STAGE

THE ARAB BATH WITH NATIONAL TION (1967)

Once we treat the circumstances of the present crisis in a scientific manner we will of the dimensions and goals of the aggression — is fearfully arrive at one of the of a united Arab nation that Arab nation must make traces of imperialism in our force in countering foreign a popular nationalist which will take care of a revolutionary party, events in the Arab world began a revolutionary party, events in the Arab world began

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beginning, will realize that the previous battle was incomplete and that the present conditions are incapable of stability. This is because the aggression has not yet attained to its goals.

Indications are not wanting, however, that none of the existing regimes desires war because no regime has yet released the masses from their fetters, let alone mobilize them in a real manner that indicates serious preparation for war.

What adds to the complexity of the situation is that the present conditions cannot last long for the following reasons:

A. Israel is, as it is often put, just outside the door. She is thus directly menacing Cairo, Amman, Damascus, Beirut and even Baghdad.

B. The Arab states which were exposed to aggression, especially Egypt and Jordan, are experiencing bad economic conditions.

C. Vast numbers of refugees exist in all countries adjoining Israel. These refugees live under miserable conditions and their problem requires a quick solution.

D. More than a million Arabs living under Israeli occupation in the West Bank, Gaza and Syria. These Arabs are in movement against the invaders in the form of spontaneous popular resistance. The development of this popular resistance into organized armed struggle has now become likely especially since the Palestine commando organizations began to get moving. This is something in which Israel might find an excuse for driving the fan-



nation provided we prove ourselves capable of appraising the concomitant circumstances and conduct ourselves in accordance with the scientific revolutionary logic.

Conversely, this stage might invite a major disaster over the head of this nation if the Arabs were to hold on to the outdated methods whose futility in tackling the issues of this nation has once again been borne out by the disaster. As a revolutionary movement, we must analyse the obtaining conditions by a new revolutionary logic and scientific methods that can deliver the Arab nation from the dangers of extermination to which it is now exposed. In our position which distinguishes us from other popular Arab movements, we bear a major responsibility as a result of which not only the fate of the Party but also the fate of the nation might be determined. We must conduct ourselves with corresponding depth in our appraisal of the run of events.

2 — The roots of the present catastrophe.

The gravity of the present set-back and our appraisal of it as a challenge of destiny to the Arab nation, spring from the fact that the set-back did not come as the result of outside conditions alone but also as a result of the nation's own conditions in the first place. As such, the catastrophe which descended upon us was not the byproduct only of the foreign aggression of June 5 but also of the internal developments of the Arab nation starting with the nation's first defeat in the face of the Zionist aggression back in 1948.

Among the major symptoms were the downfall of unity (between Syria and Egypt) in 1961, the abortion of the April 17 Pact and the two coups d'etat of November 18 and February 23.

The new catastrophe has come to tell us once more that the Arab leaderships which took up on themselves the nation's affairs after 1948 have met with utter failure in their attempts to conceive of a clear-cut strategy depicting the aspirations of the nation. The catastrophe has come to tell us again that the frames within which the Arabs operated over the past years were too ineffectual to solve for the nation its internal difficulties, let alone repel a ferocious outside challenge represented by Zionist colonialism and American and world imperialism.

In opening the eyes of the Arabs to the power of the adversary — a power so long belittled — the catastrophe also focusses attention on the points of weakness if the survival of this nation is desired.

tion of a popular nationalist front which will take care of organising armed struggle on long term basis.

As a revolutionary party, we are required to put forward a strategy appropriate to the present circumstances — a strategy involving an answer to the foreign challenge and setting the stage for the settlement of the nation's internal questions. In other words, the Party should endeavour to bring up a front of armed struggle against Israel and consequently develop this front into a revolutionary one effecting the required root changes.

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5 — The inevitability of armed collision and completion of the revolution.

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Masses of the people demonstrate in Baghdad against surrender and liquidation of the Palestine issue

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gression. The enemy seeks to impose all of his terms in return for any peaceful solution accepted by these regimes. As it were, Arab regimes found themselves face to face with two alternatives. They have either to submit to the terms of Zionism and imperialism which involved recognising Israel, ensuring the secure frontiers Israel demands, conceding to Israel her distinct position in the Arab east and keeping clear from any attempt to create Arab unity or bring into being any genuine revolutionary regime that is hostile to imperialistic influence, or return to war.

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7 — On the Israeli side.

A close study of the attitudes of Israel and of the developments marking its domestic situation and a similar study of the American attitude at this stage will show that Israel has sought by this battle to impose peace upon the Arabs, dictate her policy in the region assert her presence as a wielder of supreme power in the Middle East. Anything sh-



Masses of the people demonstrate in Baghdad against surrender and liquidatory solution of the Palestine issue

(Continued on page 17)

PROGRAMME OF THE A.

(Continued from page 6)

and its connections and social relations. Much as the exploiter regimes needed expertise, qualifications and high-calibre intellectuals, the socialist regimes need these many times over. This is because socialism is based on planning, scientific studies and scientific implementation, and seeks to build a society new in every respect, in production, consumption, education, culture, learning and work. None of this can be achieved by muddleheadedness, but rather by science and efficiency.

Those who have cast their lot with the reactionary lies, might not be of any use. Some of them might even use their expertise for purposes of sabotage. These, however, are a minority. The line of fighting efficiency and culture might reach a limit where not only reactionary saboteurs, but also efficient party members are fought. Such a state of affairs can only reflect a spirit of opportunism with those who seek to impose their authority and who can find no way to do so other than remove efficient elements from their way.

THE PARTY AND THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE:

1) We need not go back to what we stated early in this report concerning relationships between the revolutionary party and the masses of the people. We must however stress one point, namely that the success of the genuinely revolutionary party in discharging its fundamental mission cannot be measured by its ability to stay in power. Rather, it is measured by the extent of the party's success in discharging its role concerning educating the masses on their interests and real objectives, delivering them from the residues and relationships of former exploiter regimes, bringing about a spirit of struggle and creativeness and attaining to the level of full mutual responsiveness between the goals of the party and the goals of the popular masses, which must come to feel that the party is of them and for them.

2) The laws and regulations issued by the authority might change, singlehanded, the ulterior feature and official relations of society. But the basic relations of the society transcend every law and every regulation.

me, ruling from the top and a revolutionary progressive regime. The progress achieved by the former is one achieved in the conditions of the society while the progress achieved by the latter is one achieved in the society itself.

3) the greatest accomplishment the party can bring about among the masses of the people is to secure their voluntary participation in building their present and future edifices and drive out from among them the spirit of indolence. In the same way as struggle against imperialism or reactionary regimes was, in the days of passive struggle, man's only way to purifying himself and attaining to a spirit of creativity, struggle for national building marks these days the way to purification and creativity.

Constant education among the masses of the people is the party's number one assignment. But the educational operation is not a theoretical one. It cannot thus be accomplished by speech-making among peasants, workers or other forces of production. Rather, it is accomplished in the first place by working hand in hand with them to change the conditions of their lives by their own endeavours as far as possible, not by making constant demands on the ruling authorities which, more often than not, feel unable, especially in the early days of the revolution and of the development era, to meet these demands.

4) The process of changing the foundations of society in a revolutionary manner cannot be accomplished by mere speech. The government must work to bring about the conditions where such a change-over can be accomplished; but it is the duty of the masses to undertake the change-over operation themselves. Here rises the real role played by the Party in leading the change-over process and guiding it in a manner compatible with the revolutionary line. In discharging its role, the Party must first put an end to the mood of indolence to which the masses became accustomed in the days of feudalism and capitalistic rule and must set in motion the spirit of creativity among these masses.

The formation of a peasant cooperative is not a governmental assignment and becomes

incapable of discharging such assignments singlehanded. Apart from the spirit of sluggishness, there are the minor family, tribal and communal groupings that often present stumbling blocks in the way of such initiatives. Not infrequently, a group of men in a certain village would approach a group in another village with the object of cooperating to buy, say, a tractor while refusing to cooperate for the same purpose with a group in the same village. This state of factionalism cannot be overcome by preaching and advice as much as by positive work guided by the party.

6) In order that the Party might discharge such a role, it will have to be always with the people, mingle with the masses and display no airs of supremacy over them. Otherwise, the impression will be created that feudalism and capitalism had been removed from the positions of power and supremacy only to be replaced by the Party. The Party's place is with the masses, not above the masses and with them not against them. In this way, one can attain to the sought-after goal of every revolutionary popular regime, namely the unity of the party, the people and the government.

The worst sin a party member can commit is to display airs of supremacy over the persons with whom he works, assuming that, because of his party character, he could dictate his orders on them. By behaving in such a manner, he not only becomes isolated from them but he also contrives to drive them into the ranks of the enemies of the revolution and of the party. There is a great deal of difference between leadership and domineering, and between guidance and dictating one's opinions.

(7) Normally, one might say, the authority is on the side of party members in their views and directives. As the authority and the party spring from the same source, party members not infrequently make recourse to the authority to carry out their wishes or back up their attitudes. Often such demands are met by the authority. There is nothing wrong with this so long as it remains within the limits of pub-

has been discussed in the above paras.

9) — On factory level, democratic management has afforded the Party with tremendous opportunities of action. Both the board and the local union offer open avenues for active and productive Party work.

In the factory, the Party should address itself in the first place (as indeed it should in all other cases) to rally workers round the Party. This should be achieved not by authoritarian methods, terror, semi-bribes taking the form of privilege or of exceeding powers; these all will have the effect of isolating the party rather than making it a focal point of real activity. This should rather be achieved by maintaining full opening with labour forces, which must be treated on equal footing.

Any action taken by the party against a group of workers on the grounds that the group in question is hostile to the party, constitutes an erroneous step both in theory and practice. It is wrong in theory because it establishes distinctness between the party and the masses of the workers, whereas the party is of the masses and for the masses. It is wrong in practice because it can only lead to driving away party citizens from the party and leading them to shrink to themselves, thereby causing the party to shrink back likewise.

This all is opposed to the party's objectives. Otherwise, the party would not have acknowledged the freedom of labour elections but would have posed its own lists on the occasion.

In some factories there doubtlessly, factors hostile to the party. But they appreciate their real role and conditions of the revolution; such faction cannot take against the revolutionary line.

When presented with one of such factions, the party must give study to the historical reasons that led them to go sides against the party. In this process, the party must not stem from the premise of revenge, expulsion, dismissal or other identical courses.

10) — The party's second objective inside the factory should be to work for raising the standards of prod-

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11) — The party's third
GOAL in the factory should
be to encourage and proper-
ly guide the unionist spirit.

Labour unions are among
the pillars of popular democ-
racy. The endowment of these
unions with labour and doctr-
inal consciousness and free-
dom in work and in elections
constitutes one of the prerequi-
sites of the success of this
democracy.

But in the socialist era, the
labour union not only enjoys
rights but also shoulders res-
ponsibilities. It is one of the
hangovers of the former ex-
ploiter regimes that the union
should feel that its duty is to
go on standing against the ru-
ling authority. In having such
a feeling, the union is simply
moved on by the force of in-
ertia. It is here that the par-
ty's role comes for sound doc-
trinal education giving work-
ers and labour union to unde-
stand that they are no longer
a party to the battle with the
regime, but rather the force
in the hands of the regime
and the party in their war on
backwardness, reaction and ex-
ploitation.

Here, as in all other popular
organisations, the party may
not interfere directly in the
affairs of unions or issue or-
ders to them, through party
members in such unions must
work to prevent any depart-
ure from the party's revolution-
ary line through education
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ion is a popular organisation
where the party might carry
out its work in a manner co-
mpatible with its objectives.
But under no circumstances
should the labour union be co-
sidered as a party organisa-
tion receiving orders from the
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The primary duty of party
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atmosphere of conformity and
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2) The laws and regulations issued by the authority might change, singlehanded, the ulterior feature and official relations of society. But the basic relations of the society transcend every law and every regulation.

The function which the revolutionary party stands to discharge among the masses of the people cannot be undertaken by any law or any edict however meticulous and thorough it might be. The law can cancel out feudal relations and liberate the peasant from feudalistic bondage. But the law cannot cancel out the residues left out in the soul of the peasant by the feudalistic system; these can be negated only by constant indoctrination among the masses with the object of heightening their consciousness, ridding them of the hang-overs of the former mentality and prevailing upon them to depend on themselves in changing the patterns of their life. Here lies the difference between a progressive regi-

onism and drive out among them the spirit of indolence. In the same way as struggle against imperialism or reactionary regimes was, in the days of passive struggle, man's only way to purifying himself and attaining to a spirit of creativity, struggle for national building marks these days the way to purification and creativity.

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The formation of a peasant cooperative is not a governmental assignment and becomes a failure when it is. The government's role here ends with the promulgation of a law defining the way of creating farming cooperatives and the extent to which the government is prepared to go in backing them up. Now comes the role of the masses to create such cooperatives by constant guidance on village or sub-district levels. The Party must educate the peasants on the significance of farming cooperatives and of the advantages accruing from them. The Party should leave nothing undone to prevail upon the peasants to organise themselves in such cooperatives bypassing all family, tribal and communal barriers.

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6) In order that the Party might discharge such a role, it will have to be always with the people, mingle with the masses and display no airs of supremacy over them. Otherwise, the impression will be created that feudalism and capitalism had been removed from the positions of power and supremacy only to be replaced by the Party. The Party's place is with the masses, not above the masses and with them not against them. In this way, one can attain to the sought-after goal of every revolutionary popular regime, namely the unity of the party, the people and the government.

The worst sin a party member can commit is to display airs of supremacy over the persons with whom he works, assuming that, because of his party-character, he could dictate his orders on them. By behaving in such a manner, he not only becomes isolated from them but he also contrives to drive them into the ranks of the enemies of the revolution and of the party. There is a great deal of difference between leadership and domineering, and between guidance and dictating one's opinions.

(7) Normally, one might say, the authority is on the side of party members in their views and directives. As the authority and the party spring from the same source, party members not infrequently make recourse to the authority to carry out their wishes or back up their attitudes. Often such demands are met by the authority. There is nothing wrong with this so long as it remains within the limits of public interests.

But interaction between the masses, the party and the authority is one thing, while it is quite another thing to use the authority for imposing the party or the opinions of party members on the people at large.

8) Avenues of work in directions are in every respect open in the face of the Party.

On the rural level, there is the question of setting up peasant associations or farming cooperatives and developing these to become centres of sports, cultural, social and party activities in the village and to become starting points in revolutionary changes in our agrarian society. This subject

authoritarian methods, terror, semi-bribes taking the form of privilege or of exceeding powers; these all will have the effect of isolating the party rather than making it a point of real activity. This could rather be achieved by maintaining full opening with labour forces, which must be treated on equal footing.

Any action taken by the party against a group of workers on the grounds that the group in question is hostile to the party, constitutes an error, a step both in theory and in practice. It is wrong in theory because it establishes distinction between the party and the masses of the workers, whereas the party is of the masses and for the masses. It is wrong in practice because it can only lead to driving away party citizens from the party and leading them to shrink to themselves, thereby causing the party to shrink back likewise.

This all is opposed to the party's objectives. Otherwise the party would not have acknowledged the freedom of elections but would have posed its own lists on the election.

In some factories there doubtlessly, factors hostile to the party. But they associate their real role and conditions of the revolution. Such faction cannot take against the revolutionary line.

When presented with such factions, the party must give study to the reasons that led them to go sides against the party. In this process, the party must not stem from the premises of revenge, expulsion or other identical courses.

10) — The party's second objective inside the factory should be to work for raising the standards of production. This must be achieved voluntarily by constant worker education, fostering and well-meaning and fighting against the repetitive mistakes.

But as we stated early in this report, the party has the right to exercise educational guidance inside the factory without having the right to assume direct management of the factory. The party must be a substitute for the local union or the authorities in charge of the factory, nor can it be a substitute for the high authorities of the party itself. Under such circumstances, the party may present its views, and recommendations to the party's central authorities, which, alone, can give

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take the change-over opera-
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role played by the Party
leading the change-over pro-
and guiding it in a ma-
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democracy.

But in the socialist era, the
labour union not only enjoys
rights but also shoulders res-
ponsibilities. It is one of the
hangovers of the former exp-
loiter regimes that the union
should feel that its duty is to
go on standing against the ru-
ling authority. In having such
a feeling, the union is simply
moved on by the force of in-
ertia. It is here that the par-
ty's role comes for sound doc-
trinal education giving work-
ers and labour union to unde-
stand that they are no longer
a party to the battle with the
regime, but rather the force
in the hands of the regime
and the party in their war on
backwardness, reaction and ex-
ploitation

Here, as in all other popular
organisations, the party may
not interfere directly in the
affairs of unions or issue or-
ders to them, though party
members in such unions must
work to prevent any depart-
ure from the party's revolutio-
nary line through education
and persuasion. The labour un-
ion is a popular organisation
where the party might carry
out its work in a manner co-
mpatible with its objectives.
But under no circumstances
should the labour union be co-
sidered as a party organisa-
tion receiving orders from the
party command.

The primary duty of party
members is to bring about an
atmosphere of conformity and
mutual responsiveness between
the party and the labour un-
ion by conveying the views of
the party to the union and
vice versa.

12) — We shall not be
long in expounding what
other duties remain for pa-
rty members. For the aven-
ues are open to work among
intellectuals, students, wo-
men, wage-earners, professi-
onals, national guards and
members of "futuwwa" (yo-
uth). Other avenues are op-
en for popular work and for
combatting illiteracy.

In all these fields the doors
are flung wide open for orga-
nised party work not from the
standpoint of direct control or
management but from the
standpoint of guidance and ed-
ucation, taking care that these
all must proceed in conformi-
ty with the party's general line
which, as we stated above, is
the nation's line of destiny.

13) — The winning over
of the masses to the Party
and the Revolution is both

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(Continued from p. 13)

necessary and inevitable. This can be had only by maintaining an opening with them.

By maintaining this opening we must not restrict ourselves to passing on to the masses the instructions and directives of the party, but should also listen to them and to the organisations speaking on their behalf. Among other things, this includes giving the masses the right of constructive criticism within the limits of the nation's progressive line of destiny. This is because it is impossible for the party not to commit mistakes while carrying out its revolution. If we were to shut our ears to the criticism directed against such errors, especially from the mass organisations and the groups which the revolution has come to serve, and if we denied these the right to criticism, our error will multiply and assume greater proportions.

It is impossible for the party to discover its own mistakes faster than those who are harmed by such mistakes. By shutting our ears to constructive criticism, we simply deny ourselves the opportunity of finding sound paths for the revolution — often found by discovering our mistakes.

Naturally, criticism under the socialist revolutionary regime, cannot become an end in itself, nor can it be allowed to proceed unchecked to the limit of undermining the nationalist socialist line itself. It cannot be allowed either to assume the form of a purposeless spiritual exercise. But with due care to all of these considerations, constructive criticism should be allowed if only because it constitutes the means of letting us receive back the faithfully and accurately the echoes of whatever we do.

Naturally, too, criticism cannot always be to the point. The views expressed in the criticism might reflect only one of the numerous and, by nature, self-contradictory aspects of the society. It is also possible that the views of the party may not be in accord with the views expressed in the criticism. But none of this should negate the right of criticism. The feeling by the popular organisations that they have the right of criticism makes them

comes sufficiently powerful, the revolution will be in a position to pardon and forego others mistakes. It can then fling wide open the doors of co-operation even with those who had ranged themselves on the side of the enemy provided these have come to appreciate the historic role of the revolution, adapt themselves to the line of the revolution and dedicated their thought, endeavours and energies to its service. The door of the revolution is closed in no body's face provided he is willing to get into this door.

PARTY DUTIES

1) The accomplishment of the above-mentioned assignments is by no means easy. Success therein require trust worthy experience endurance of constructive struggle and

that the struggle necessitated by the factors of advancement, self-sufficiency and freedom is by far fiercer than the struggle for razing down the factors of backwardness

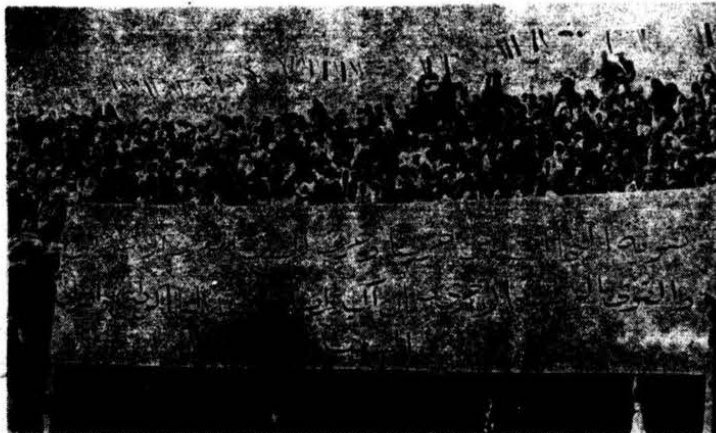
3) In the days of passive struggle, there was a distinct enemy of progress who stood well outside the ranks of the struggling masses, and on whom the forces of struggle converged with the object of liquidating him. He was a visible and unmistakeable enemy taking the form of either a reactionary government or domineering feudalism or exploiter capitalism or foreign colonialism.

In the days of positive struggle, we face challenges in our own souls, in our society's relationships and in our own psychological, economic and social heritage. There is, of course, a

6 — Right from

our Party came to unshakeable belief that progress cannot be achieved without popular participation and unless it is in the popular mass belief represents the differences that bear the banner of our opinion, the "ness" of any regime

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exercise of candid self-criticism. Across its history, the Party has evolved traditions of passive struggle which have since become part of our annals and of our psychological structure. But the Party has no traditions on which we can rely and from which we can select in the process of national building. We have, therefore, to tread the path of trial and error, constantly analysing our mistakes, exercising self-criticism and evolving new traditions in the national build-up — all throughout benefiting from the experiences of revolutionary experiment that preceded us in the field of building and maintaining our eyes open for anything that can be adapted from such experiences.

2) We must lead the masses in the process of revolutionary

vast difference between fighting an outside enemy and fighting one's own self

4) The easiest thing in the process of revolutionary change-over is to introduce laws regulating society on new revolutionary basis displacing the old relationships. But the mere promulgation of laws has little to do with the very essence of the revolutionary change-over. A revolutionary law might lay down the frame of society's social relationships, but is unable to put substance in that frame. It is alone conscious work by the masses which can pump throbbing life into that frame, give it power of endurance and the effective means to change the face of society.

5) Monopoly of government

When our Party turned itself to the task of such a task as the masses of building the foundation of a new society, it has about the fact that it is to grips with the most difficult aspect of confronting a revolutionary regime. In fact, the ranks open an example of which has been experienced in the past and which we must meet with the socialist

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me in which the masses do not participate is inevitably a failure carrying the seeds of "progress from the top" as was the case in the days of Unity.

6 — Right from the outset, our Party came to rise on the unshakable belief that progress cannot assume its full dimensions and substance without popular participation and unless it is undertaken by the popular masses. This belief represents the essence of the differences that divide us from many Arab rulers who bear the banner of progressive-ness and raise its slogans. In our opinion, the "progressiveness" of any regime should be measured not only by the progressive character of its laws but also by the extent of genuine participation by the masses in shouldering all responsibilities involved.

is success in this particular assignment which distinguishes our Party from any other similar party or movement in the Arab world and which confers upon it the unique character that has been its own, in addition to its nationalist organisation.

The Party's slogans are no longer its exclusive property. In either form or substance, they have been adopted by all progressive, or pseudo-progressive movements in the Arab homeland. What however remained an exclusive fundamental trait of the Party is this deep faith in the masses and tireless work to see to it that the masses became the kernel of every progress and every step made by the Party in building the new society.

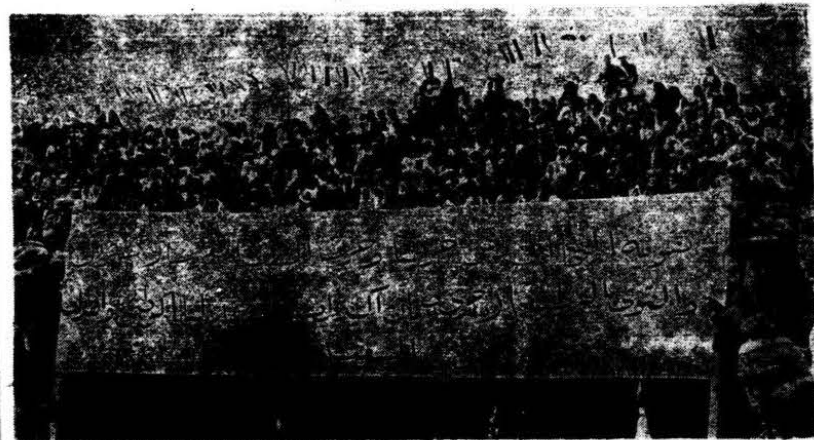
7—Evidently, the accomplishment of such a complex and difficult assignment requires a party that measures equally to the task. It is insufficient to say that we need this or that, want this or that and believe in this or that.

We must create a cadre capable of discharging this mission. In much as the new society cannot be built overnight so is also the case with building the party, that measures equally to the assignment involved; it cannot be accomplished in the twinkling of an eye. This is all the more so as the Party cannot be completely free from the factors of backwardness that shroud the society.

Besides, the Party is carrying on its back the legacies of passive struggle and of the peculiar circumstances which attended the period of its disbandment in the era of unity. It also shoulders the legacies of the crucial and tense conditions which accompanied and followed the outbreak of the revolution and put the revolution itself in jeopardy.

8 — We feel compelled to accept the Party, from a doctrinal point of view, in the way we inherited it — in its good

(Continued on p. 15)



exercise of candid self-criticism. Across its history, the Party has evolved traditions of passive struggle which have since become part of our annals and of our psychological structure. But the Party has no traditions on which we can rely and from which we can select in the process of national building. We have, therefore, to tread the path of trial and error, constantly analysing our mistakes, exercising self-criticism and evolving new traditions in the national build-up — all throughout benefiting from the experiences of revolutionary experiment that preceded us in the field of building and maintaining our eyes open for anything that can be adapted from such experiences.

4) The easiest thing in the process of revolutionary change-over is to introduce laws regulating society on new revolutionary basis displacing the old relationships. But the mere promulgation of laws has little to do with the very essence of the revolutionary change-over. A revolutionary law might lay down the frame of society's social relationships, but is unable to put substance in that frame. It is alone conscious work by the masses which can pump throbbing life into that frame, give it power of endurance and the effective means to change the face of society.

2) We must lead the masses in the process of revolutionary build-up. In past eras, we got to learn of how to lead the masses in the matter of national

When our Party addresses itself to the accomplishment of such a task and to leading the masses of our people in building the foundations of the new society, it has no illusions about the fact that it is coming to grips with one of the most difficult assignments ever confronting a revolutionary regime. In fact, the Party embarks open an experiment the like of which has never been experienced in the Arab homeland and which was seldom met with even in the socialist world. It

IRAQI PORTS ADMINISTRATION — BASRAH

NOTICE TENDER NO. 32/71

FOR THE SUPPLY OF MILD STEEL PLATES FOR SHIPBUILDING

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this includes giving the masses the right of constructive criticism within the limits of the nation's progressive line of destiny. This is because it is impossible for the party not to commit mistakes while carrying out its revolution. If we were to shut our ears to the criticism directed against such errors, especially from the mass organisations and the groups which the revolution has come to serve, and if we denied these the right to criticism, our error will multiply and assume greater proportions.

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Naturally, criticism under the socialist revolutionary regime, cannot become an end in itself, nor can it be allowed to proceed unchecked to the limit of undermining the nationalist socialist line itself. It cannot be allowed either to assume the form of a purposeless spiritual exercise. But with due care to all of these considerations, constructive criticism should be allowed if only because it constitutes the means of letting us receive back the faithfully and accurately the echoes of whatever we do.

Naturally, too, criticism cannot always be to the point. The views expressed in the criticism might reflect only one of the numerous and, by nature, self-contradictory aspects of the society. It is also possible that the views of the party may not be in accord with the views expressed in the criticism. But none of this should negate the right of criticism. The feeling by the popular organisations that they have the right of criticism makes them genuinely that they are an essential and real part of the revolution.

In addition to the above, the Party must exercise self-criticism and get used to this. This is because self-criticism and admission of mistakes represent one of the effective means of nourishing up the sense of constructive criticism among the masses and of undercutting the schemings of those who seek to capitalise on the mistakes of the revolution.

14) Working with the masses without any airs of supremacy not only wins over elements who historically sympathise with the revolution, but also produces favourable effects even on those whose historical conditions have placed them in the ranks of the enemies of the revolution. Once it strikes deep roots and becomes

closed in no body's face provided he is willing to get into this door.

PARTY DUTIES

1) The accomplishment of the above-mentioned assignments is by no means easy. Success therein require trust worthy experience endurance of constructive struggle and



exercise of candid self-criticism. Across its history, the Party has evolved traditions of passive struggle which have since become part of our annals and of our psychological structure. But the Party has no traditions on which we can rely and from which we can select in the process of national building. We have, therefore, to tread the path of trial and error, constantly analysing our mistakes, exercising self-criticism and evolving new traditions in the national build-up era — all throughout benefiting from the experiences of revolutionary experiment that preceded us in the field of building and maintaining our eyes open for anything that can be adapted from such experiences.

2) We must lead the masses in the process of revolutionary build-up. In past eras, we got to learn of how to lead the masses in the welter of passive struggle. But it should be borne in mind that leading the masses in the period of passive struggle is far easier than leading them in the period of positive struggle.

In the former case, the conditions of backwardness, privation and enslavement surrounding the masses need nothing more than sparking them off so as to prompt the masses to join us in the line of struggle. Quite a large portion of the masses might perhaps have been operating under the theory that the mere outbreak of the revolution will abruptly do away with the conditions of which they have been complaining. They just did not realise that such conditions have struck too deep roots to be eradicated overnight. Nor did they realise

that the difference between the differences taking the form of either a reactionary government or domineering feudalism or exploiter capitalism or foreign colonialism.

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5) Monopoly of government and of the executive branch is far easier than collective endeavours in this same field. Obviously, it is more decisive, faster and less admitting of debates and controversies. The easiest thing in the world is to recruit camp-followers, cheering mercenaries and opportunists with the object of giving the regime the appearance of being backed-up by popular bases. It is also very easy to organise a secret service system keeping close watch over any move by the people and contriving to bring up pseudo-popular bases. It is likewise quite easy to rig elections of professional federations or other representative organisations to make them look perfectly conforming with the regime in power. Such tactics have been tried in Syria and other territories — but all failed. This is because the regime

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IRAQI PORTS ADMINISTRATION — BASRAH

NOTICE TENDER NO. 32/71

FOR THE SUPPLY OF MILD STEEL PLATES FOR SHIPBUILDING

Tenderers are invited to participate in the Tender for the supply and delivery of the above, which close at 12.00 hours on Wednesday the 19th May, 1971.

And if the offers be sent by post they must be registered and the bidder is required to insure that his offer together with all the documents as required in the Tender Form to reach the Tender Box at the H.Q. of the Iraqi Ports Administration Maqal on the date fixed and marked (Tender No. 32/71 For The Supply Of Mild Steel Plates).

Forms of Tender in duplicate may be obtained from the Purchase and Tender Office, Iraqi Ports Administration, Basrah, or from the Representative of Iraqi Ports Administration in the Ministry of Communications, Baghdad, during working hours on payment of ID. 2/- (which will not be refunded).

Baghdad Observer No. 972, Dated 7/4/1971.



exercise of candid self-criticism. Across its history, the Party has evolved traditions of passive struggle which have since become part of our anatomy and of our psychological structure. But the Party has no traditions on which we can rely and from which we can select in the process of national building. We have, therefore, to tread the path of trial and error, constantly analysing our mistakes, exercising self-criticism and evolving new traditions in the national build-up of era — all throughout benefiting from the experiences of party revolutionary experiment that preceded us in the field of building and maintaining our eyes open for anything that can be adapted from such experiences.

2) We must lead the masses in the process of revolutionary build-up. In past eras, we got to learn of how to lead the masses in the welter of passive struggle. But it should be borne in mind that leading the masses in the period of passive struggle is far easier than leading them in the period of positive struggle.

In the former case, the conditions of backwardness, privation and enslavement surrounding the masses need nothing more than sparking them off so as to prompt the masses to join us in the line of struggle. Quite a large portion of the masses might perhaps have been operating under the theory that the mere outbreak of the revolution will abruptly do away with the conditions of which they have been complaining. They just did not realise that such conditions have struck too deep roots to be eradicated overnight. Nor did they realise

vast difference between fighting an outside enemy and fighting one's own self

4) The easiest thing in the process of revolutionary change-over is to introduce laws regulating society on new revolutionary basis displacing the old relationships. But the mere promulgation of laws has little to do with the very essence of the revolutionary change-over. A revolutionary law might lay down the frame of society's social relationships, but is unable to put substance in that frame. It is alone conscious work by the masses which can pump throbbing life into that frame, give it power of endurance and the effective means to change the face of society.

5) Monopoly of government and of the executive branch is far easier than collective endeavours in this same field. Obviously, it is more decisive, faster and less admitting of debates and controversies. The easiest thing in the world is to recruit camp-followers, cheering mercenaries and opportunists with the object of giving the regime the appearance of being backed-up by popular bases. It is also very easy to organise a secret service system keeping close watch over any move by the people and contriving to bring up pseudo-popular bases. It is likewise quite easy to rig elections of professional federations or other representative organisations to make them look perfectly conforming with the regime in power. Such tactics have been tried in Syria and other territories — but all failed. This is because the regi-

When our Party addresses itself to the accomplishment of such a task and to leading the masses of our people in building the foundations of the new society, it has no illusions about the fact that it is coming to grips with one of the most difficult assignments ever confronting a revolutionary regime. In fact, the Party embarks open an experiment the like of which has never been experienced in the Arab homeland and which was seldom met with even in the socialist world. It

APPRAISAL OF THE STRATEGY OF THE CURRENT STAGE

(Continued from page 12)

ort of these goals will make Israel feel that the victory she achieved is incomplete, even secondary. The rejection with which Israel's terms have met from the Arabs so far made Israel feel that a second round was needed to attain to her goals. As a matter of fact serious endeavours began to be made for timing such a round.

It is no longer a secret that these were sources voicing the need of continuing with the current round for imposing peace terms on the Arabs. This is because as far as Israel is concerned, the situation is now ideal. She operates from a position of strength both militarily and politically while the Arab side is defeated and fragmented. Internal strife also continues among the Arabs and the international situation in general permits Israel to get moving. This is because of America's conspiracies and absolute backing to Israel, and of Soviet slackening in reinforcing the Arabs with the necessary weapons.

An analytical survey of Israel's domestic situation will reveal to us that things, as they now stand, cannot guarantee to Israel all she wishes. Besides, the state of semi-war with the Arab countries is wearing her down. A million or more Arabs inside the occupied territories continue to resist the Israeli occupation. The maintenance of a state of emergency has produced continued economic stagnation. Besides, the Israelis are afraid lest new popular eruptions bring into being genuine revolutionary regimes that can mobilise the full energies of the Arab nation. These factors combine to prompt Israel to bring the round to completion and impose peace, in the event the Arabs refuse peace through negotiations.

8 -- The Arab masses.

Above, we discussed the viewpoints of current Arab regimes and pointed out that these regimes especially the ones adjacent to Israel feel that the continuation of the battle threaten them with collapse. As such, these regimes are searching for a way out from this dilemma in a manner which keeps them in power without having to go to war.

But the situation is much different on the side of the Arab masses. As it were, these masses have lost about everything in the bat-

manifestation of defeatism. This is because the masses know for sure that freedom can be attained only by sacrifice and that there can be no other way for repelling aggression than the way of bitter armed struggle.

The masses, which see in fighting their only way for repelling aggression will, sooner or later, impose this solution even if it became necessary to bypass all present leaderships and regimes.

Armed struggle thus appears to be the Arabs' only way for salvation. Besides, it might come to be imposed on them. This being so, serious preparations must be made for bringing the round to completion.

9 -- The quality of the forthcoming armed struggle.

Israel and the imperialistic forces behind her remain capable of choosing the place and time of the battle. This is because of Israel's military superiority and her excellent strategic position. But there is one aspect where the Arabs can have the power of selection and consequently change the outcome of the battle and to win it. By this is meant the quality and continuity of armed struggle.

A -- Conventional war.

This kind of war is essential but insufficient for the following reasons:

— Presently, Arab forces torn up and have lost the main bulk of their heavy equipment and air force. By contrast, the Israeli forces suffered only meagre losses, if not indeed emerged from the war better off as a result of the vast Arab equipment that fell into their hands.

— Israel is backed up by a powerful force namely American in particular and the West in general. This force is prepared to back up Israel in every conceivable way and supply her even with men. It is taken for granted that Israel received and continues to receive large numbers of foreign volunteers most of them experts on various types of modern weapons. From this it follows that the Arab military buildup will be matched by a simultaneous and perhaps faster and superior Israeli buildup. If things are to remain what they are now, the Israelis will thus retain the superiority in power and tactics as on June 5.

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This, and more than this, was borne out by what came to be called the war battles fought between June 5-11 1967, and in subsequent days. Besides, many officers in some Arab countries are deeply immersed in political activities and are busy aspiring to power and positions of influence.

B -- Armed popular struggle.

A careful analysis of Israeli and Arab possibilities and positions is bound to reveal an important fact which constitutes a point of weakness for Israel and a position of strength for the Arabs provided they made good use of it. Israel's population is just above two million, almost all of whom have been thrown into the battle. So short on human resources, Israel cannot afford to sacrifice even a hundred thousand of her population. In contrast, there are one hundred million Arabs who constitute a huge reserve for the battle. It should be possible to offer sacrifices in millions for the sake of preserving the honour and right to life of the one hundred million Arab nation. This should form the base of Arab strategy whose hope in victory lies in the skillful way of mobilising the energies and resources of one hundred million Arabs and in throwing huge numbers of them into the battle making of them the war's determining factor. This means that all of the people's possibilities should be mobilised in all spheres for a war that must continue as long as Arabs remain living — a war that, by virtue of the vast numbers it commits to battle and by its continuity, would exhaust the enemy until Arab victory has been achieved. In other words, this means adopting the strategy of popular armed struggle side by side with depending on regular armies.

Not infrequently, we hear these days of Arab voices advancing the argument that the chief enemy of the Arabs is America which is determined to bolster Israel right up to the end. As America is the world's most powerful and richest nation, so the argument goes, it is pointless to come into direct collision with her.

This defeatist reasoning glosses not only over the right of the Arab nation to live an honourable and free life in its land, but also over the fact that a price should always be paid for this right. At the same time, this reasoning makes traveesty of history because his-

now colours the everyday life of at least fifty million Arab surrounding Israel posing a direct threat to their livelihood, lives and even their right to live. Further, this struggle has become an issue bearing on the very being of the Arab nation as a united nation entitled to be on a par with other nations. It was the unmistakable object of aggression to destroy this nation as a cohesive unit once and for ever in favour of retaining splinter states as satellites trailing behind American and Israeli hegemony in the same way as Latin American and other weak states.

It is on this level that the issue must be put forward and on this level too a reply must be brought up. Other nations have encountered such challenges of destiny. The challenge was accepted and successfully encountered only by those nations which pursued the line of popular armed struggle thus paying the price for the right to live and ensuring a free and dignified life for themselves.

Total mobilisation and converting the people into a fighting unit not only provide the natural reply to the hegemony of the foreign aggression and the challenge it poses, but also constitutes the basic means of curing the nation from its internal ills. This is because the masses will have taken their own issues into their own hands without the medium of sham leaderships.

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History abounds in instances where golden opportunities were offered for the rise of popular fronts which began fronts of armed struggle against foreigners then in the latter of such struggle, developed into peoples' fronts capable of achieving the desired revolutionary social changes. This was the story of China's war with Japan, the story of Yugoslavia in the Partisan war, the story of Vietnam first in the war of liberation against the French and now against American imperialism. To look for an instance in the modern history of the Arab nation, it is also the story of the Algerian revolution and the rise of the national liberation front.

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time, such revolutionary leaderships will proceed with the masses towards a comprehensive social revolution. It is armed struggle against foreigners which brings to the fore popular cadres and develops self-confidence among the masses as regards the role of building the society. In turn, this will be instrumental in developing, among the masses, the concept of organisation and collective action. Deep roots will thus be struck for the revolutionary movement in a manner guaranteeing loyalty to the revolution even in the face of a temporary defeat inflicted upon the revolutionary leadership by a reactionary apostasy. In such a case, the popular bases will provide the foundations on which the revolutionary leaderships can rely for a counter swoop on reactionary apostasy, as happened in China and also in Algeria shortly after independence.

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Total mobilisation and converting the people into a fighting unit not only provide the natural reply to the hugeness of the foreign aggression and the challenge it poses, but also constitutes the basic means of curing the nation from its internal ills. This is because the masses will have taken their own issues into their own hands without the medium of the sham leaderships.

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The slogan of pressing on with the war against Israel will group together all national elements which are aware of the danger of Israel, especially the toiling masses. In the course of armed struggle, defeatist opportunist and fake leaderships will fall off. At the same time, the revolutionary leaderships, by their long term strategy, clear vision and full comprehension of the developments in the evolution of the nation, will be able to assert themselves with the framework of the front. This is because the masses will, without doubt, listen to them knowing that these leaderships are the most careful about the interests of the masses, particularly as regards the armed organisation.

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Before proceeding to discuss the formation of the front, we must clarify its concept.

The rise of a front means that elements of divergent trends meet together with the object of achieving a common goal at a certain stage. It is this goal which determines who can join the front at a given stage. As regards the front which we are seeking to create, there is a basic and important goal to be achieved in this stage. It is the goal of repelling an outside dangers threatening this nation in the core. Behind this goal, there meet national elements of various political and class interests.

The vastness of the outside challenge dictates the massing up of all of the nation's human and material resources for meeting this challenge. This should be so regardless of all in-

peace terms on the Arabs. This is because as far as Israel is concerned, the situation is now ideal. She operates from a position of strength both militarily and politically while the Arab side is defeated and fragmented. Internal strife also continues among the Arabs and the international situation in general permits Israel to get moving. This is because of America's conspiracies and absolute backing to Israel, and of Soviet slackening in reinforcing the Arabs with the necessary weapons.

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But the situation is much different on the side of the Arab masses. As it were, these masses have lost about everything in the battle. They lost the feeling of self-respect and, unless they go back to war, they are near to losing their right to a free and honourable life. Even the "revolutionary regimes" are not the same as before to the masses of the people which will settle down to nothing short of a resumption of fighting.

The Arab masses which were dismayed by Israel's occupation of new slices of Arab territory can transform these occupied territories into a graveyard for Israel if only they become organised and endowed with sound leadership.

The voices that have advocated peaceful solutions have been rebuffed by the Arab masses which saw in them the

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— Then there is the difference between the qualities of the Arab soldier and the Israeli soldier. The Arab soldier lacks the required standards of training and mobilization, whereas the Israeli soldier does not. The Israeli soldier fights with the knowledge that he is defending his right to life and knows that his defeat means that the Arabs would throw him and his family into the sea. Besides, there is a stupendous disparity between the two in training, technical skills, and technology. Whereas it is a daily routine for Israeli officers to keep themselves up-to-date with the latest fighting techniques, the majority of Arab officers are living in circumstances which bar them from devoting themselves entirely to their military duties.

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This defeatist reasoning glosses not only over the right of the Arab nation to live an honourable and free life in its land, but also over the fact that at a price should always be paid for this right. At the same time, this reasoning makes travesty of history because history tells us that the mightiest powers were defeated only by peoples struggling for right to life.

The people of Vietnam have proved that there is a way of defeating the world's strongest power, namely, America. History has also proved on so many occasions that the above-mentioned way is so effective that an imperialistic power, however mighty, cannot escape defeat in its face, provided that the necessary determination and the readiness to offer sacrifices are guaranteed.

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It should also be borne in mind that the presence of revolutionary leaderships have absorbed all national and social stages of revolution and be relied upon to work out the necessary planning to make this drive by the toiling masses a real and organised drive capable of proceeding steadily towards the achievement of victory over foreigners, however long this might take. In this way, a state of cohesion will be accomplished and confidence created between the popular masses and their revolutionary leaderships. Con

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The vastness of the outside challenge dictates the massing up of all of the nation's human and material resources for meeting this challenge. This should be so regardless of all internal and class differences on which a moratorium can be imposed so as to galvanize endeavours for the national common objective. This is because the foreign enemy poses a threat to all.

Though the next stage might require the emergence of a front made up of people's elements which have direct interest in the desired social changes, this does not conflict, during the stage in question, with the rise of a broad national front combining everyone who bears enmity towards Israel and believes in the necessity of resisting her through popular armed struggle. In the process, the revolutionary leaderships can develop this transitional national front into popular

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(Continued from page 4)

by no means responsible, was in no way alien to the spirit of the Party or prompted by any act of emotionalism or negativism.

THE ARAB BAATH SOCIALIST PARTY IS A HUMANE, NATIONALIST PARTY; it treats recognition of the national rights of any people as part and parcel of its historic assignment. Any one who has had the chance to take a look at the Party's literature and record of struggle will find nothing strange in that initiative which confirmed the Party's humane, nationalist character in as much as it confirmed the cohesion between all masses of our struggling people.

Many political movements had tried to put to advantage the Kurdish issue for the purpose of cheaply trading in it and employing it against the progressive nationalist movement. More clearly, they wanted to use that issue as a challenge to the Party and hoped thereby to drive the Party into emotional stands that would have the effect of repelling the struggling masses and making them identify themselves with one movement or another.

But the Arab Baath Party strictly guarded itself by its own norm, which identified the Party's nationalism with its humaneness and refused to turn to anything other than pure fountainhead. The Party did not improvise solutions for pleasing one group or another and held itself above engaging in biddings and outbiddings with its foes and rivals.

It believed that the ideologies to which it had committed itself constituted the criterion for judging the courses it pursued. This being so, one can safely assume that the March 11 Manifesto was the natural harvest of April 7.

In other words the first beginnings of the Party — when the Party was a purely missionary school working to consolidate the Arab identity and accentuate revolutionary ethics — have come to be based on the nationalism and humaneness of the Party. To the Baath Party, it was impermissible to have nationalism and no humaneness.

NO SEPARATION should be

ve struggle in the interests of cohesion in our country and the interests of our nation in its struggle against the imperialist-Zionist challenges. This attitude requires all Party strugglers and all masses of the Arab Revolution to work for deepening the March 11 Peace Manifesto and ostracise all detachments that are no longer able of hiding their wrath.

What has been achieved so far has SURPASSED the expe-

ctations of both friends and foes. This means, first and foremost, that the benevolent nature of the Arab Baath Socialist Party is not going to be restricted by the limits of a manifesto or anything else for that matter as long as such benevolence is for the good of the struggling masses of our country and their legitimate human struggle.

By this constructive, positive stance, overstepping all formal

considerations, and by the remarkable responsiveness of Kurdish people and their distant Democratic Party, March 11 Manifesto will be deepened in the interest of toiling masses and in a manner that makes of it an important stepping-stone up the road of exercising our fundamental responsibilities for liberating our captured territories, part of achieving the liberation of the great Arab homeland.

THE BEGINNINGS

(Continued from page 7.)

The Party has been imbued by the desire to make of its own democratic organisation a model for democratic organisations as understood by it in public life. It took the sought-after democracy as the by-product of strenuous training on the part of party members.

This democratic education has thus been included in the Party framework as the sound nucleus to democracy in general political work.

IV — Over and above all this, THE PARTY'S IDEOLOGY HAS BEEN AN ARAB ONE WHOSE MAIN OBJECTIVE IS TO BUILD THE UNITED ARAB HOMELAND AND DO AWAY WITH THE FRAGMENTATION AILMENT THAT HAD BEEN VISITED UPON THEM.

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Its raison d'être has been and still is fighting local outlooks and the attempts to deal with Arab problems separately — the one from the other. Its pan-Arab rationalisation has dominated its treatment of local problems and regional policies. Its pan-Arab outlook was by no means something in answer to the above-mentioned local problems. To it, the rule has been the comprehensive

to standardize its structure, its thinking and its modes of action in all Arab countries and attain to the highest degree of unity among the Arab states.

The Party's masses throughout the Arab homeland, speaking one language, believing in one revolutionary ideology and pursuing a common way of action, constitute the first practical and formidable representation of the concept of Arab unity. They give the strongest impression of the unity of the Arab presence and the unity of the will of Arabs wherever they may be, and bear the clearest testimony to the fact that the revolutionary will tackling the problems of the Arab nation in a deep and drastic manner is the only instrument capable of grouping together and uniting the Arab structure.

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The building of this joint united line of struggle was the FIRST practical and formidable application of the meaning of unity and the first organised step made in its direction.

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STATE ORGANIZATION

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IRAQI CEMENT

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FROM APRIL 7, 1947 TO MARCH 11, 1970

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On the 24th anniversary its Constituent Congress, the Arab Baath Socialist Party stands on solid ground, giving it a clear view of the road of struggle lying ahead. The Party shall never look backward except to the extent of drawing vigour from its fountainhead and sound tenets as a sustenance for the forthcoming revolutionary march.

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renuous everyday struggle led by vanguard forces against fragmentation and those profiting by fragmentation and seeking to perpetuation. Besides, it is a race with time involving the deepening of unity consciousness and organising struggle for unity and against its enemies. As such it represents revolutionary work in its entirety — stubborn everyday joint struggle for the sake of socialism and liberty.

Thus being so, the Party set the idea of struggle for unity on the same level as the idea of the unity of struggle. In the Party's view, Arab unity can be achieved only by two things: UNIFICATION OF ARAB STRUGGLE AND UNITED EVERYDAY STRUGGLE FOR THE SAKE OF THE UNITY.

STATE ORGANIZATION FOR CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRIES

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Tenders not submitted within the time speci-

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NO SEPARATION should be made between humaneness and nationalism unless that was the byproduct of arbitrariness and coercion. From this it follows that the Arab Baath Party was not a benefactor or an alms-giver when it achieved the March 11 peace. Nor was it trying to show off humaneness or modernism, nor appease one side or another.

The Baath Party perfectly believed that the March 11 Manifesto represented an **IMPORTANT LANDMARK** in its life and the life of the masses of our country in as much as it was a shining facet of progressive nationalist struggle.

Party strugglers are today standing at the threshold of a history abounding in progress.

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This being so, it was only natural that the most prominent feature in the Party's political organisation has been its **COMPREHENSIVE** Arab set-up in contrast to a local set-up. From the very beginning, the Party gave practical expression to its Arab ideology by presenting itself as an Arab party whose branches in various Arab countries are subject to the overall Arab administration in the Party, and the overall command — representing all Arab countries — the regulator of the Party's life in various countries.

Thanks to its deep Arab ideology, the Party has managed

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As such it was a slap on the face of the doubters and of all others who have been questioning the homogeneity of the Arab existence and alleging disparities between its paths and its people.

By making of its Arab structure the bases of struggle for its goals, including at the top unity with a democratic socialist substance, the Party aimed for another important point. It was that unity was not a casual goal that can be left out to time, but rather one attainable through joint Arab struggle.

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For IRAQI CEMENT

SHAH Baghdad Observatory

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Tenders not submitted within the time specified or unaccompanied by a receipt of the Deposit or Bank Guarantee will not be considered.

Tenders submitted through agents in Iraq, should be accompanied by a Certificate issued by the Directorate General of Registration & Supervision of Companies.

For IRAQI CEMENT PUBLIC COMPANY

DIRECTOR GENERAL

SHAKIR MAHMOUD AL-JUBURY.

Baghdad Observer No. 972, Dated 7/4/1971.

ID.185M. EARMARKED FOR AGRICULTURAL SECTOR

DOURI SPEAKS ON PROGRESS OF AGRARIAN REFORM

Sd. Izat al-Douri, Member of the ECC and Minister of Agrarian Reform has given a number of important facts and figures about the progress of agrarian reform.

The Minister was speaking at a press conference in Amarah, the provincial capital of the Governorate of Maysan on the eve of the commencement of a large-scale volunteer labour drive in the governorate.

The Minister disclosed that on the anniversary of the founding of the Arab Baath Socialist Party the Minister castigated the former Agrarian Reform Law and said that the law in question failed to attain to its targets and allowed salinity to spoil about three fourth of farmland. The July 17 Revolution, he added, bent on redressing the errors of the former law addressed itself to promoting agriculture in every conceivable way. He went on to say that the irrigation projects so far completed were watering some 500,000 donums while the drainage projects were serving about 1 million donums.

Sd. Douri said that the task of the Agrarian Reform Administration did not stop at taking over and distributing excess land. Its ultimate ambition is to usher an agrarian revolution and bring about

ported, he added.

The conference lasted for about four hours.

Sd. Douri yesterday opened Al-Dujaila irrigation project in the Governorate of Maysan.

Today, Sd. Douri is opening a 2-month volunteer labour drive to build 52 kilometers of streets in the provincial capital of Amarah.

RAF'EE BACK FROM BASRAH

Dr. Abdul Majeed al-Raf'ee, Member of the National Leadership of the Arab Baath Socialist Party returned to Baghdad yesterday afternoon from Basrah where he attended part of Al-Marbid Poetry Festival.

COMMANDOS CLASH WITH ENEMY PATROL

Beirut, Tuesday.

A spokesman of the General Command of the Palestine Resistance Movement announced here today that a number of Israeli soldiers were killed or wounded and two Israeli military vehicles destroyed in a clash with an enemy patrol in the Syrian Heights on Sunday night. The spokesman said that two commandos were missing and a third injured in the clash which lasted for over 50 minutes.

The spokesman further said that direct hits were scored in a rocket attack on the Israeli settlement of Al-Gush in Upper Galilee at dawn yesterday. Other commando units attacked with rockets an Israeli police centre in the settlement of Hanina in Western Galilee, the spokesman said. — INA

BOUMEDIENNE CONFERS WITH P.R.M. TEAM

Algiers, Tuesday.

President Houari Boumedienne yesterday evening conferred with a delegation of the Palestine Resistance Movement which arrived here to offer condolences on the death of Col. Abdul Qader Chabou, member of the Algerian Revolutionary Command Council. No details were available of the meeting.

In the meantime, Sd. Abdul Aziz Boutifaka, the Algerian Foreign Minister, last night conferred with King Hussein's envoy Salah Abu Zaid, who had earlier delivered to President Boumedienne a message from the king. Abu Zaid is now on a tour of a number of Arab

SYMPOSIUM ON ELECTRICITY

A symposium on electricity of the Iraqi Engineers' Association. The symposium, sponsored by the Engineers is to discuss electricity network.



In his opening address Taha al-Jazrawi, Member of the ROC and Minister of Industry said he hoped the symposium would attain to its aim in achieving fruitful cooperation between the Arab countries and expanding electricity networks which were the fundamentals of progress and advancement in the country of today.

The Minister called for such scientific symposiums for speeding up the progress. He went on to say that the building of an electricity network for Iraq and Kuwait as well as for Lebanon would bring economic dividends to the countries concerned and speed the unity of the Arab homeland. Sd. Muhibiddin al-Ta'ee, a member of the Iraqi Engineers' Union, who also spoke on the occasion, said the symposium should lay down the framework for pan-Arab industrial operation and added that recommendations to be discussed by the symposium be submitted to the respective Arab governments for their own use.

IRAQI PORTS AT TEN

NATIONAL FOR THE SUPPLY UNDER FOR SULPHUR

Tenderers are invited to tender for the supply of sulphur which closes at 12.19th May, 1971.

And if the offer is registered and the tenderer that his offer is

KUWAIT EXEMPTS IRAQI PRODUCTS FROM CUSTOMS DUTIES

The Kuwaiti Government adopted a decision yesterday to the effect of exempting agricultural, animal and industrial products as well as natural resources originating in Iraq from customs duties as from the first of April.

The said decision comes in line with the provisions of the joint communiqué issued in Kuwait on February 22, following the talks held between an Iraqi economic delegation led by Dr. Akram Yamouli, Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Economy for Foreign Trade Relations and the Kuwaiti authorities.

The Kuwaiti decision provided that each item thus exempted should be accompanied by a certificate of origin issued by the competent Iraqi authorities.

The decision also provided that the industrial products would not be considered as originating in Iraq unless the Iraqi raw materials and domestic costs of production constituted 2 per cent of the aggregate production costs.

The decision further provided

U.S.S.R. TEACHERS UNION HEAD DUE TODAY

Mrs. Jebra, Chairman of the Teachers Union of the USSR and Member of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party is arriving here today for a 10-day visit to this country at the invitation of the Central Teachers Union. She is returning the visit made to the Soviet Union by a delegation of Iraqi teachers last year. — INA

News from Governorates

KERBELA:

On the 24th anniversary of the founding of the Arab Baath Socialist Party, the Govern-

EARMARKED FOR AGRICULTURAL SECTOR

ON PROGRESS OF AGRARIAN REFORM

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new agrarian relationships based on socialist foundations. For this purpose, he continued, the new law classified farmland into fifteen different categories.

The Minister disclosed that since 1958, 8,917,000 donums has been leased out to 240,114 peasant families. Of this, 3,580,000 donums has been distributed among 30,685 peasant families.

Prior to the July 17 Revolution, the number of heavy agricultural machines did not exceed 117; now it stood at 16,629. The number of farming cooperatives was then 433; now it stood at 800.

The Minister, replying to a question put to him by a newspaper report said that in the 5-Year 1970-74 Development Plan, ID 188 million has been appropriated for the agricultural sector.

Replying to another question on grain shortages the Minister said that this year's harvest brought 1 million tons. Iraq's home consumption needed 1,200,000 tons. Some 800,000 tons has already been im-

ported, he added.

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SYMPOSIUM TO DISCUSS SINGLE ELECTRICITY NETWORK FOR 4 ARAB STATES

A symposium on electricity opened up at the premises of the Iraqi Engineering Association yesterday morning. The symposium, sponsored by the Conference of Arab Engineers is to discuss the question of building a single electricity network for Iraq, Kuwait and Lebanon.



In his opening address, Sd. Taha al-Jazrawi Member of the ROC and Minister of Industry said he hoped the symposium would attain to its ends in achieving fruitful cooperation between the Arab countries and expanding electricity networks which were among the fundamentals of progress and advancement in the world of today.

The Minister called for more of such scientific symposiums for speeding up the nation's progress. He went on to say that the building of common electricity network for Iraq and Kuwait as well as for Syria and Lebanon would bring economic dividends to the countries concerned and speed up the unity of the Arab homeland.

Sd. Muhibiddin al-Ta'ee, Chairman of the Iraqi Engineers Union, who also spoke on the occasion, said the symposium should lay down the first bricks for pan-Arab industrial cooperation and added that the recommendations to be formulated by the symposium would be submitted to the respective Arab governments for their own use.

Another speaker at the opening meeting was Dr. Mohamed Faheem Saqr, Assistant Secretary General of the Confederation of Arab Engineers who observed that the Arab countries were abounding in sources of energy of every description including in the forefront electricity "the life-line of industry."

He said that the Confederation of Arab Engineers considered as a matter of great vitality the carrying out of the general survey of sources of energy available in the Arab countries.

The 3-day symposium is attended by delegates from Iraq, UAR, Syria, Kuwait, Jordan, Lebanon, Sudan and the Secretariat of the Confederation of Arab Engineers. — INA

FRENCH NAVAL UNIT TO VISIT LEBANON

Beirut, Tuesday.

The Lebanese government has agreed to a goodwill visit to be made to Lebanese territorial waters by some French naval units in June, it was announced here yesterday. — INA

IRAQI PORTS ADMINISTRATION-BASRAH

NOTICE

TENDER NO. 14/71

NATIONAL DEVELOPING PLANT FOR THE SUPPLY OF HIGH & LOW TENSION UNDER GROUND CABLES FOR SULPHUR PLANT AT UM-QASR

Tenderers are invited to participate in the Tender for the supply and delivery of the above, which closes at 12.00 hours on Wednesday the 19th May, 1971.

And if the offers be sent by post they must be registered and the bidder is required to insu-

IMPTS IRAQI CUSTOMS DUTIES

lopted a decision yesterday agricultural, animal and immaterial resources originating as from the first of Ap-

The said decision comes in line with the provisions of the joint communique issued in Kuwait on February 22, following the talks held between an Iraqi economic delegation led by Dr. Akram Yamulki, Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Economy for Foreign Trade Relations and the Kuwaiti authorities.

The Kuwaiti decision provided that each item thus exempted should be accompanied by a certificate of origin issued by the competent Iraqi authorities.

The decision also provided that the industrial products would not be considered as originating in Iraq unless the Iraqi raw materials and domestic costs of production constituted 2 per cent of the aggregate production costs.

at a press conference in Amarah, the provincial capital of the Governorate of Maysan on the eve of the commencement of a large-scale volunteer labour drive in the governorate on the anniversary of the founding of the Arab Baath Socialist Party. The Minister castigated the former Agrarian Reform Law and said that the law in question failed to attain to its targets and allowed salinity to spoil about three fourth of farmland. The July 17 Revolution, he added, bent on redressing the errors of the former law addressed itself to promoting agriculture in every conceivable way. He went on to say that the irrigation projects so far completed were watering some 500,000 donums while the drainage projects were serving about 1 million donums.

Sd. Dourj said that the task of the Agrarian Reform Administration did not stop at taking over and distributing excess land. Its ultimate ambition is to usher an agrarian revolution and bring about

sed on socialist foundations. For this purpose, he continued, the new law classified farmland into fifteen different categories.

The Minister disclosed that since 1958, 8,917,000 donums has been leased out to 240,114 peasant families. Of this, 3,580,000 donums has been distributed among 80,665 peasant families.

Prior to the July 17 Revolution, the number of heavy agricultural machines did not exceed 117; now it stood at 16,629. The number of farming cooperatives was then 433; now it stood at 800.

The Minister, replying to a question put to him by a newspaper report said that in the 5-Year 1970-74 Development Plan, ID 188 million has been appropriated for the agricultural sector.

Replying to another question on grain shortages the Minister said that this year's harvest brought 1 million tons. Iraq's home consumption needed 1,200,000 tons. Some 800,000 tons has already been im-

ported to build 52 kilometers of streets in the provincial capital of Amarah.

RAF'EE BACK FROM BASRAH

Dr. Abdul Majeed al-Raf'ee, Member of the National Leadership of the Arab Baath Socialist Party returned to Baghdad yesterday afternoon from Basrah where he attended part of Al-Marbid Poetry Festival.

COMMANDOS CLASH WITH ENEMY PATROL

Beirut, Tuesday.

A spokesman of the General Command of the Palestine Resistance Movement announced here today that a number of Israeli soldiers were killed or wounded and two Israeli military vehicles destroyed in a clash with an enemy patrol in the Syrian Heights on Sunday night. The spokesman said that two commandos were missing and a third injured in the clash which lasted for over 50 minutes.

The spokesman further said that direct hits were scored in a rocket attack on the Israeli settlement of Al-Sufat in Upper Galilee at dawn yesterday. Other commando units attacked with rockets an Israeli police centre in the settlement of Hamina in Western Galilee; the spokesman said. — INA

BOUMEDIENNE CONFERES WITH P.R.M. TEAM

Algiers, Tuesday.

President Houari Boumedienne yesterday evening conferred with a delegation of the Palestine Resistance Movement which arrived here to offer condolences on the death of Col. Abdul Qader Chabou, member of the Algerian Revolutionary Command Council. No details were available of the meeting.

In the meantime, Sd. Abdul Aziz Bouteflika, the Algerian Foreign Minister, last night conferred with King Hussein's envoy Salah Abu Zaid, who had earlier delivered to President Boumedienne a message from the king. Abu Zaid is now on a tour of a number of Arab capitals conveying messages from King Hussein to the heads of state of the host countries. — INA

JORDAN BANS UAR PRESS TEAM

Amman, Tuesday.

The Jordanian government has banned the entry into Jordan of an Egyptian press team to report on the current bloody clashes. The team was to have been sent by the Union of Egyptian Journalists, to compile a collective report on the situation in Jordan. — INA

KUWAIT EXEMPTS IRAQI PRODUCTS FROM CUSTOMS DUTIES

The Kuwaiti Government adopted a decision yesterday to the effect of exempting agricultural, animal and industrial products as well as natural resources originating in Iraq from customs duties as from the first of April.

The said decision comes in line with the provisions of the joint communique issued in Kuwait on February 22, following the talks held between an Iraqi economic delegation led by Dr. Akram Yamulhi, Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Economy for Foreign Trade Relations and the Kuwaiti authorities.

The Kuwaiti decision provided that each item thus exempted should be accompanied by a certificate of origin issued by the competent Iraqi authorities.

The decision also provided that the industrial products would not be considered as originating in Iraq unless the Iraqi raw materials and domestic costs of production constituted 2 per cent of the aggregate production costs.

The decision further provided that with due consideration to the laws and regulations in force in the country, transit would be permissible via Kuwaiti territory and ports for commodities exported by or imported into Iraq. The decision also stipulated that passenger transport and cargo vehicles belonging to Iraq be granted the necessary facilities on Kuwaiti territory, provided that such facilities exclude local transportation. The decision called for the necessity of giving due consideration to the other regulations and decisions in force in the country. — INA

U.S.S.R. TEACHERS UNION HEAD DUE TODAY

Mrs. Jebra, Chairman of the Teachers Union of the USSR and Member of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party is arriving here today for a 10-day visit to this country at the invitation of the Central Teachers Union. She is returning the visit made to the Soviet Union by a delegation of Iraqi teachers last year. — INA

News from Governorates

KARBELA:

On the 24th anniversary of the founding of the Arab Baath Socialist Party, the Governor is today opening a number of projects including a number of primary and intermediate schools, a maternity home at a cost of ID. 30,000 and an ID. 40,000 filling station. He is also laying the foundation stone to the building of 50 village houses in Imam Oun area at a cost of ID. 15,000.

DIYALAH:

Dr. Ahmed Abdul Sattar al-Jawari, Minister of State for Presidential Affairs arrived in Baqubah yesterday to begin an inspection tour of the Governorate of Diyalah.

In his opening address, Sd. Taha al-Jazrawi Member of the RCC and Minister of Industry said he hoped the symposium would attain to its ends in achieving fruitful cooperation between the Arab countries and expanding electricity networks which were among the fundamentals of progress and advancement in the world of today.

The Minister called for more of such scientific symposiums for speeding up the nation's progress. He went on to say that the building of common electricity network for Iraq and Kuwait as well as for Syria and Lebanon would bring economic dividends to the countries concerned and speed up the unity of the Arab homeland.

Sd. Muhibiddin al-Ta'ee, Chairman of the Iraqi Engineers Union, who also spoke on the occasion, said the symposium should lay down the first bricks for pan-Arab industrial cooperation and added that the recommendations to be formulated by the symposium would be submitted to the respective Arab governments for their own use.

IRAQI PORTS ADMINISTRATION NOT TENDER N

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT FOR THE SUPPLY OF UNDER GROUND FOR SULPHUR PLANT

Tenderers are invited for the supply and installation of which closes at 12.00 hours on 19th May, 1971.

And if the offers be registered and the bidder that his offer together as required in the Tender Box at the H.Q. Administration Maqal on the (Tender No. 14/71 For High & Low Tension U.G.

Forms of Tender in accordance with the Purchase and Sales of Goods and Services of the Ports Administration, Baghdad, representative of Iraqi Port Ministry of Communications working hours, on payment will not be refunded.

Baghdad Observer No. 9

The number of farm-operatives was then 433; it stood at 800

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Beirut, Tuesday.

The spokesman further said that direct hits were scored in a rocket attack on the Israeli settlement of Al-Sufat in Popper Galilee at dawn yesterday. Other commando units attacked with rockets and howitzers the centre in the settlement of Harina in Western Galilee, the spokesman said. — DNA

Algiers, Tuesday.

**JORDAN BANS
UAR PRESS TEAM**

Annunzi, Tuesday

The Jordanian government has banned the entry into Jordan of an Egyptian press team, and has asked the Egyptian government to report on the current bloody clashes. The team was to have been sent by the United Arab Emirates to collect information for the Egyptian Journalists' Association, a collective report on the situation in Jordan.

The Minister called for more of such scientific symposiums for speeding up the nation's progress. He went on to say that the building of common electricity network for Iraq and Kuwait as well as for Syria and Lebanon would bring economic dividends to the countries concerned and speed up the unity of the Arab homeland.

Sd. Mahabubul Haq, Vice-Chair, Arab Engineers. — INA

Refut, Tuesday.

The Lebanese government has agreed to a goodwill visit to be made to Lebanon by the Israeli leaders by some French moral units in June, it was announced here yesterday.—(N.A.)

NOTICE

TENDER NO. 14/71

Tenderers are invited to participate in the Tender for the supply and delivery of the above, which closes at 12.00 hours on Wednesday the 19th May, 1971.

An if the offers be sent by post they must be registered and the bidder is required to insure that his offer together with all the documents as required in the Tender Form to reach the Tender Box at the H. Q. of the Iraqi Ports Administration Magal on the date fixed and marked (Tender No. 14/71 For The Supply Of Elect. High & Low Tension U.G. Cables).

Forms of Tender in duplicate may be obtained from the Purchase and Tender Office, Iraqi Ports Administration, Basrah, or from the Representative of Iraqi Ports Administration in the Ministry of Communications, Baghdad, during working hours, on payment of ID. 1/- which will not be refunded.

Baguides Observer No. 972, Dated 7/4/1971.

APPRAISAL OF THE STRATEGY OF THE CURRENT STAGE

(Continued from page 17)

revolutionary front depending fully on the toiling masses which have the real stake in the social changes. This is because armed struggle can be relied upon to dictate the pursuance of this course. All elements with a bourgeois outlook opposed to social changes will just fall off as happened in Algeria, despite the absence of clear-cut strategy to the revolution at the outset. When studying the stage that precedes the catastrophe, the Party came to put forward the slogan of a popular nationalist front that combines individuals and national formations drawn from the classes which have direct interest in social changes namely the workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary intellectuals. This is the ultimate form into which the front must develop.

But it is unnecessary to discuss the form with which to begin. This is because the goal next on the line will combine national elements far broader than the above-mentioned popular base. In the struggle with foreigners, use should be made of all energies of the nation including those which, in the end, will be opposed to social changes as already happened in China and Algeria and as is now happening in Vietnam. The important thing is that the form in which the front gets off to a start must not hamper its evolution to the desired form.

This analysis dictates the form with which the front should get off to a start. The front should combine all popular nationalist organisation along with everyone prepared to contribute to the confrontation with Israel. Use should be made of all willing elements each in accordance with his possibilities: those who can wield the gun, those who can supply funds etc... There should however be special concentration on the toiling national elements. This is because these elements are the most willing to offer sacrifices and because their interests and the interest of the front meet together in the final analysis. In the end, it will be these elements which will make up the revolutionary front. In the course of these struggles and in accordance with the obtaining circumstances, the revolutionary front shall determine its stand towards the existing regimes and various political movements. It might thus come into a temporary coalition with them; it

whether from within or from without or the result of temporary interests on the part of some members of the front from among the compromising elements who might attempt to drag the entire front into compromise attitudes in the struggle with foreigners. History abounds in such instances whether in Algeria or in China or even here in the Arab east where traditionalist elements used to assume leadership and agree to compromise solutions in the wars of independence.

Emphasis should also be laid on revolutionary ideological organisation which constitutes the lifeline of the revolution. This is because it is this organisation alone which can develop the strategy of the front in the interest of the toiling masses and create close ties between the revolutionary leaderships and between them and the toiling masses.

11 — The role of the Party and its importance

In order to function, the popular nationalist front of armed struggle must have organisational roots by which the front should expand to cover all popular national sectors. It is the Party which is qualified to take the initiative in bringing up the popular nationalist front for armed struggle against Israel. It is the Party which, in cooperation with the rest of the revolutionary forces can develop the front for bringing about the required drastic social changes. Under these circumstances, the Party bears immense historic responsibility. This is because the nation lives in a stage of destiny and because the Party is qualified to perceive the significances of this stage and provide answers to them. The front should move on a pan-Arab level if it really wanted to be equal to the occasion and to measure up to the adversary and to the seriousness of the confrontation. This means that the front should be put forward on a pan-Arab level for the mobilisation of one hundred million Arabs, all of whom, or at least the fifty million of them surrounding Israel, should be hurried into the battle.

This of course, requires a nationalist organisation of the front so that it can move all throughout the Arab countries in a coordinated and cohesive manner. This again requires internal organisation within the front to match this nationalist pervasiveness. And that is where the importance of the Party is discernible. It is the Party which possesses the desired organisational set-up along with experiences of operating on a pan-Arab level.

the front and enable it to benefit from the Party's organisations and experiences and, on the other hand, the Party should maintain its own ideological struggle with the object of educating Party members, giving them a true picture of the strategy of the current stage and of the requirements of the front and assure that the front's line of advance should remain along a sound revolutionary course guaranteeing the fulfilment of its short-term and long-term goals. This of course necessitates the development of the Party in a revolutionary drastic manner enabling it to function as the lifeline and ideological and organisational guiding norm for the front.

12. Party organisation and the organisation of the front.

From the beginning of work within the front up to the day when matters between Party work and front work are cleared up, there is bound to remain in the minds of some Party members some contradictions at least in two respects; (a) fearing for the Party lest it gets lost especially if the Party becomes entirely immersed in the duties of the front, then the front ended up in utter failure. (b) the fate of the Party member who for one reason or another are unable to participate effectively in work of the front.

Right from the beginning, stress should be laid on the necessity of working on both the levels of Party and front, simultaneously and in a parallel way. This can be achieved by different means depending on the conditions of each territory.

13 — The Ninth National Conference resolves:

a. To adopt the method of popular armed struggle not only for fighting Zionist occupation but also as an effective instrument for the achievement of the goals of the contemporary Arab revolution which are summed up in the creation of a united socialist Arab society in the shape of complete Arab unity.

b. Regular armies are basic and important sectors which should play their roles on two levels: resisting the Zionist-imperialist occupation and seeking to achieve the goals of Arab revolution through the broad progressive Arab front. Further, the adoption of the method of armed popular struggle does by no way disrupt the role of the regular Arab armies.

c. The conference requests the national leadership to take

supervision and They should be among Party and

d. On the level of popular struggle raises the slogan of Palestine action encompassing all Palestine formations and political parties.

Insurance

Ceylon's is still today and military and politically described

In a broadcast to the nation the Prime Minister Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike said insurgents with guns and bombs attacked on police stations and government buildings last night and were followed by a large crowd of people who attempted attack on the police.

Military leaders estimated casualties at 100 in a series of attacks around the country and government buildings. Mrs Bandaranaike

KOSYGIN

Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev's year plan to cut and declared it with China and

Setting out the day's special stress on industry and consumer demands, he said how USSR as an security conference to peaceful cooperation

Addressing nearly 100 delegates to the Soviet Party congress, Khrushchev said economic reforms he 1965 would spread the economy by 1970

IRAQI PORT

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Tenderers Tender for the which closes a

THE STRATEGY OF THE CURRENT STAGE

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This of course, requires a nationalist organisation of the front so that it can move all throughout the Arab countries in a coordinated and cohesive manner. This again requires internal organisation within the front to match this nationalist pervasiveness. And it is where the importance of the Party is discernible. It is the Party which possesses the desired organisational set-along with experiences of acting on a pan-Arab level. It is this role which might not be made in

the front and enable it to benefit from the Party's organisations and experiences and, on the other hand, the Party should maintain its own ideological struggle with the object of educating Party members, giving them a true picture of the strategy of the current stage and of the requirements of the front and assure that the front's line of advance should remain along a sound revolutionary course guaranteeing the fulfilment of its short-term and long-term goals. This of course necessitates the development of the Party in a revolutionary drastic manner enabling it to function as the lifeline and ideological and organisational guiding norm for the front.

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b. Regular armies are basic and important sectors which should play their roles on two levels: resisting the Zionist imperialist occupation and seeking to achieve the goals of Arab revolution through the broad progressive Arab front. Further, the adoption of the method of armed popular struggle does by no way disrupt the role of the regular Arab armies.

c. The conference requests the national leadership to take all effective measures within the material possibilities and

supervision and leadership. They should be drawn up from among Party and friendly elements.

d. On the level of the Palestine popular struggle the Party raises the slogan of the unity of Palestine action in a front encompassing all fighting Palestine formations and progressive political parties and forces.

e. The Conference stresses the necessity of having an opening to Fateh organisation and establishing coordination with it. This however must not conflict with the slogan of the unity of the Palestine forces no obscures the necessity of concentrating on endeavours designed to prompt Fateh to clarify its ideological line, theoretical precepts and political strategy for the current stage.

Insurgents' attack on Colombo foiled

Colombo Tuesday.

Ceylon's business and working life came to a standstill today and the city of Colombo was put under heavy military and police guard after a night of what was officially described as intense insurgent activity.

In a broadcast speech to the nation the Prime Minister, Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike, said insurgents armed with the Peramuna. The country guns and bombs staged 25 attacks on police stations, police patrols and government buildings last night and early today and were foiled in an attempted attack on Colombo itself.

Military leaders spoke of substantial casualties to the insurgents in a series of clashes around the country with police and government forces. Mrs Bandaranaike in her

speech declared a formal ban on the militant People's Liberation Front (Janatha Vimuk-sa) said insurgents armed with the Peramuna. The country has been under a state of emergency since March 16.

The information department announced that a country-wide curfew would take effect at 1500 local and last until 0600 tomorrow morning. The curfew, first imposed on five districts last night, was to have covered the whole island from 1800 local today but was brought forward because of the tense situation.

KOSYGIN LAUNCHES USSR'S NEW FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Moscow, Tuesday.

Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin today launched a new five-year plan to carry USSR into a technological revolution and declared the Kremlin's readiness to do more business with China and the United States.

Setting out the plan, which lays special stress on modernising industry and meeting consumer demands, he also described how USSR saw a European security conference leading to peaceful cooperation.

Addressing nearly 5,000 delegates to the Soviet Communist Party congress he said economic reforms he initiated in 1965 would spread throughout the economy by 1975.

The Soviet Premier declared that a European security conference, persistently advocated by Moscow and its allies, would open the way for broad economic, technical and scientific cooperation. It could pave the way to solving such problems as transcontinental freight carriage, and the building of high-power electricity transmission lines which could form the basis of a continent-wide power grid.

IRAQI PORTS ADMINISTRATION-BASRAH

NOTICE

TENDER NO. 48/71

FOR THE SUPPLY OF H.T. OVERHEAD LINE ACCESSORIES

Tenderers are invited to participate in the Tender for the supply and delivery of the above, which closes at 12.00 hours on Wednesday the 26th May, 1971.

erty came to put forward the slogan of a popular nationalist front that combines individuals and national formations drawn from the classes which have direct interest in social changes namely the workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary intellectuals. This is the ultimate form into which the front must develop.

But it is unnecessary to discuss the form with which to begin. This is because the goal next on the line will combine national elements far broader than the above-mentioned popular base. In the struggle with foreigners, use should be made of all energies of the nation including those which, in the end, will be opposed to social changes as already happened in China and Algeria and as is now happening in Vietnam. The important thing is that the form in which the front gets off to a start must not hamper its evolution to the desired form.

This analysis dictates the form with which the front should get off to a start. The front should combine all popular nationalist organisation along with everyone prepared to contribute to the confrontation with Israel. Use should be made of all willing elements each in accordance with his possibilities: those who can wield the gun, those who can supply funds etc... There should however be special concentration on the tolling national elements. This is because these elements are the most willing to offer sacrifices and because their interests and the interest of the front meet together in the final analysis. In the end, it will be these elements which will make up the revolutionary front. In the course of these struggle and in accordance with the obtaining circumstances, the revolutionary front shall determine its stand towards the existing regimes and various political movements. It might thus come into a temporary coalition with them; it might have to fight them. What is important is to operate from the principle that anyone who is enemy to Israel is a friend to the front.

The importance of the presence of revolutionary elements in the leadership of the front must be recognised right from the outset. This is necessary to guarantee the feasibility of transforming the front, in the final analysis, into a popular front amendable to social changes. More important, the presence of genuine revolutionary elements in the leadership of the front will underwrite the front against collapse in the course of the struggle against foreigners and keep the front from agreeing to half measures as a result of pressures.

on revolutionary ideological organisation which constitutes the lifeline of the revolution. This is because it is this organisation alone which can develop the strategy of the front in the interest of the tolling masses and create close ties between the revolutionary leaderships and between them and the tolling masses.

11 — The role of the Party and its importance

In order to function, the popular nationalist front of armed struggle must have organisational roots by which the front should expand to cover all popular national sectors. It is the Party which is qualified to take the initiative in bringing up the popular nationalist front for armed struggle against Israel. It is the Party which, in cooperation with the rest of the revolutionary forces can develop the front for bringing about the required drastic social changes. Under these circumstances, the Party bears immense historic responsibility. This is because the nation lives in a stage of destiny and because the Party is qualified to perceive the significance of this stage and provide answers to them. The front should move on a pan-Arab level if it really wanted to be equal to the occasion and to measure up to the adversary and to the seriousness of the confrontation. This means that the front should be put forward on a pan-Arab level for the mobilisation of one hundred million Arabs, all of whom, or at least the fifty million of them surrounding Israel, should be hurried into the battle.

This of course, requires a nationalist organisation of the front so that it can move all throughout the Arab countries in a coordinated and cohesive manner. This again requires internal organisation within the front to match this nationalist pervasiveness. And that is where the importance of the Party is discernible. It is the Party which possesses the desired organisational set-up along with experiences of operating on a pan-Arab level. Important as this role might be, it should not be made in the name of the Party. Rather, work should assume a frontal character whose purpose is to get the masses moving on the broadest possible scale.

The creation of the front requires the Party to shoulder immense responsibilities. The continuity and development of the front in a way conditioning it to undertake the desired social changes lays huge assignment on the shoulders of the Party. This is because the functioning of the front does not mean that the Party has ceased to function. On the contrary, the work of the Party should proceed in two parts. On the one hand, the Party should work to bolster

development of the Party in a revolutionary drastic manner enabling it to function as the lifeline and ideological and organisational guiding norm for the front.

12. Party organisation and the organisation of the front.

From the beginning of work within the front up to the day when matters between Party work and front work are cleared up, there is bound to remain in the minds of some Party members some contradictions at least in two respects; (a) fearing for the Party lest it gets lost especially if the Party becomes entirely immersed in the duties of the front, then the front ended up in utter failure. (b) the fate of the Party member who for one reason or another are unable to participate effectively in work of the front.

Right from the beginning, stress should be laid on the necessity of working on both the levels of Party and front, simultaneously and in a parallel way. This can be achieved by different means depending on the conditions of each territory.

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b. Regular armies are basic and important sectors which should play their roles on two levels: resisting the Zionist-imperialist occupation and seeking to achieve the goals of Arab revolution through the broad progressive Arab front. Further, the adoption of the method of armed popular struggle does by no way disrupt the role of the regular Arab armies.

c. The conference requests the national leadership to take all effective measures within the material possibilities available to it, to create fighting units inside occupied Arab territory in Palestine. These should be tied up to the Party, and should operate under its

EDITORIAL

(Continued from page 1) with unity, liberty and socialism, the avowed goals of the Arab masses.

The observance by the Arab masses of the 24th anniversary of the Party's birthday is in itself a glowing tribute to the progressive struggle waged by the Party for realising the hopes and longings of the tolling masses everywhere in the Arab

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on revolutionary ideological organisation which constitutes the lifeline of the revolution. This is because it is this organisation alone which can develop the strategy of the front in the interest of the toiling masses and create close ties between the revolutionary leadership and between them and the toiling masses.

11 — The role of the Party and its importance

In order to function, the popular nationalist front of armed struggle must have organisational roots by which the front should expand to cover all popular national sectors. It is the Party which is qualified to take the initiative in bringing up the popular nationalist front for armed struggle against Israel. It is the Party which, in cooperation with the rest of the revolutionary forces can develop the front for bringing about the required drastic social changes. Under these circumstances, the Party bears immense historic responsibility. This is because the nation lives in a stage of destiny and because the Party is qualified to perceive the significances of this stage and provide answers to them. The front should move on a pan-Arab level if it really wanted to be equal to the occasion and to measure up to the adversary and to the seriousness of the confrontation. This means that the front should be put forward on a pan-Arab level for the mobilisation of one hundred million Arabs, all of whom, or at least the fifty million of them surrounding Israel, should be hurried into the battle.

This of course, requires a nationalist organisation of the front so that it can move all throughout the Arab countries in a coordinated and cohesive manner. This again requires internal organisation within the front to match this nationalist pervasiveness. And that is where the importance of the Party is discernible. It is the Party which possesses the desired organisational set-up along with experiences of operating on a pan-Arab level. Important as this role might be, it should not be made in the name of the Party. Rather, work should assume a frontal character whose purpose is to get the masses moving on the broadest possible scale.

The creation of the front requires the Party to shoulder immense responsibilities. The continuity and development of the front in a way conditioning it to undertake the desired social changes lays huge assignments on the shoulders of the Party. This is because the functioning of the front does not mean that the Party has ceased to function. On the contrary, the work of the Party should proceed in two parts. On the one hand, the Party should work to bolster

revolutionary drastic manner enabling it to function as the lifeline and ideological and organisational guiding norm for the front.

12. Party organisation and the organisation of the front.

From the beginning of work within the front up to the day when matters between Party work and front work are cleared up, there is bound to remain in the minds of some Party members some contradictions at least in two respects; (a) fearing for the Party lest it gets lost especially if the Party becomes entirely immersed in the duties of the front, then the front ended up in utter failure. (b) the fate of the Party member who for one reason or another is unable to participate effectively in work of the front.

Right from the beginning, stress should be laid on the necessity of working on both the levels of Party and front, simultaneously and in a parallel way. This can be achieved by different means depending on the conditions of each territory.

13 — The Ninth National Conference resolves:

a. To adopt the method of popular armed struggle not only for fighting Zionist occupation but also as an effective instrument for the achievement of the goals of the contemporary Arab revolution which are summed up in the creation of a united socialist Arab society in the shape of complete Arab unity.

b. Regular armies are basic and important sectors which should play their roles on two levels: resisting the Zionist imperialist occupation and seeking to achieve the goals of Arab revolution through the broad progressive Arab front. Further, the adoption of the method of armed popular struggle does by no way disrupt the role of the regular Arab armies.

c. The conference requests the national leadership to take all effective measures within the material possibilities available to it, to create fighting units inside occupied Arab territory in Palestine. These should be tied up to the Party, and should operate under its

EDITORIAL (Continued from page 1) with unity, liberty and social. Here, the avowed goals of the Arab masses.

The observance by the Arab masses of the 24th anniversary of the Party's birthday is in itself a glowing tribute to the progressive struggle waged by the Party for realising the hopes and longings of the toiling masses everywhere in the Arab homeland.

Colombo Toned

Colombo Tuesday. Ceylon's business and working life came to a standstill today and the city of Colombo was put under heavy military and police guard after a night of what was officially described as intense insurgent activity.

In a broadcast speech to the nation the Prime Minister, Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike, said insurgents armed with guns and bombs staged 25 attacks on police stations, police patrols and government buildings last night and early today and were foiled in an attempted attack on Colombo itself.

Military leaders spoke of substantial casualties to the insurgents in a series of clashes around the country with police and government forces. Mrs Bandaranaike in her speech declared a formal ban on the militant People's Liberation Front (Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna). The country has been under a state of emergency since March 16. The information department announced that a country-wide curfew would take effect at 1500 local and last until 0600 tomorrow morning. The curfew, first imposed on five districts last night, was to have covered the whole island from 1800 local today but was brought forward because of the tense situation.

KOSYGIN LAUNCHES USSR'S NEW FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Moscow, Tuesday. Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin today launched a new five-year plan to carry USSR into a technological revolution and declared the Kremlin's readiness to do more business with China and the United States.

Setting out the plan, which lays special stress on modernising industry and meeting consumer demands, he also described how USSR saw a European security conference leading to peaceful cooperation.

Addressing nearly 5,000 delegates to the Soviet Communist Party congress he said economic reforms he initiated in 1965 would spread throughout the economy by 1975. The Soviet Premier declared that a European security conference, persistently advocated by Moscow and its allies, would open the way for broad economic, technical and scientific cooperation. It could pave the way to solving such problems as transcontinental freight carriage, and the building of high-power electricity transmission lines which could form the basis of a continent-wide power grid.

IRAQI PORTS ADMINISTRATION-BASRAH

NOTICE

TENDER NO. 48/71

FOR THE SUPPLY OF H.T. OVERHEAD LINE ACCESSORIES

Tenderers are invited to participate in the Tender for the supply and delivery of the above, which closes at 12.00 hours on Wednesday the 26th May. 1971.

And if the offers be sent by post they must be registered and the bidder is required to insure that his offer together with all the documents as required in the Tender Form to reach the Tender Box at the H.Q. of the Iraqi Ports Administration Maqal on the date fixed and marked (Tender No. 48/71 For The Supply Of H.T. Overhead Line Accessories).

Forms of Tender in duplicate may be obtained from the Purchase and Tender Office, Iraqi Ports Administration, Basrah, or from the Representative of Iraqi Ports Administration in the Ministry of Communications, Baghdad, during working hours, on payment of I.Ds. 2/- (which will not be refunded).

Baghdad Observer No. 972, Dated 7/4/1971.

PALESTINE ISSUE THROUGH DELIC

Comrade Shebli al-Ayzami, Assistant Secretary General of the Arab Baath Socialist Party and comrades Abdul Khaleq al-Samarai, and Mohammed Sulaiman, both Members of the National Leadership and Mohammed Fadhel, Member of the Regional Leadership yesterday afternoon called on Sd. Naif Hawatma, Secretary General of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine who is now on a visit to Baghdad.

During the call which lasted about one hour, discussions ranged various aspects of the Palestine revolution and its pan-Arab and international relationships.

Tomorrow afternoon, Sd. Hawatma is to outline a comprehensive programme of counter measures directed against the liquidationist and capitulationist plans dished up in connection with the Palestine issue. At a rally to be held at the Information Club, Sd. Hawatma is to draw up a contrast between the so-called efforts of diplomacy and the revolutionary postulates of liberation war in facing up to the Zionist-imperialistic aggression.

Sd. Hawatma is making his visit to Baghdad at the invitation of the National Leadership of the Arab Baath Socialist Party with the object of holding political consultations with party and government officials on how best to counter the liquidationist and capitulationist proposals.

In a comprehensive interview with the INA yesterday, Sd. Hawatma said that studios attempts were being made to force the people of Palestine into sharing in the liquidation of their own cause. He added: "The ruling reactionary faction in the Arab world is daily engaging in encirclement extermination operations directed against the resistance movement and the Jordanian-Palestinian masses with the object of forcing our people to proceed in the direction of the puppet Palestine state."

Referring to Jarring's proposals for the withdrawal of the Israeli forces back to the 1948 frontiers and maintaining the Gaza Strip under Israeli control, Sd. Hawatma said: "Jarring is now in the process of drawing up proposals aiming to compel the people of Palestine to become a party to the political settlement."



Of his own assessment of the current stage in the developments of the Palestine issue, Sd. Hawatma said: "The Palestine issue is now going through the most critical stage in its history. International conditions are pressing for a comprehensive liquidation based on recognising Israel, relinquishing part of Palestine territory in favour of settler-colonialism and guaranteeing secure frontiers to Israel in return for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Arab territory occupied in the June aggression of 1967. Needless to say, the proposed liquidation involves the encirclement and extermination of the Palestine resistance so as to give Israel secure frontiers."

Sd. Hawatma exhorted the forces of resistance and national movement in the West Bank of Jordan along with the Arab revolutionary forces and the anti-imperialistic and anti-Zionist forces around the world to unite their ranks for facing up to the imperialistic designs and to move on to a higher stage of struggle up the road of enduring national liberation war with the object of inflicting total defeat upon the enemies of the liberation of Palestine and the enemies of the Arab revolution.

Replying to another question, the Secretary General of the DPFLP observed that the Palestine issue was never one day a local issue exclusive to the people of Palestine. That applied as much to ancient as to modern history: "The fate of Palestine is determined in the light of the subjective conditions of the people of Palestine and the objective conditions in the region," he said.

He added: "He definitely errs who imagines for so much as one moment that the people of Palestine alone are called upon to face up to the invading forces represented in contemporary history by the Zionist movement, the state of Israel and the US-led forces of world imperialism. Surely, the struggle between our people on the one hand and Zionism and imperialism on the other is unequal. The people of Palestine, however, represent the spearhead in this struggle. Hence, the call made right from the beginning by the DPFLP for the unification of all Arab revolutionary forces into one broad national progressive front. Surely, the tightening of the noose round the neck of Israel comes through tightening the noose round the neck of imperialism in the Arab region with the object of strangling both."

Sd. Hawatma went on to say that the struggle against Israel is interlocked with the

struggle against imperialism throughout the length and breadth of the Arab world. "For the sake of achieving complete national liberation in the Arab region, first and foremost, the liberation of Palestine is in the interest of the Arab nation as a whole. To unite both wings of the Arab revolution: the resistance and the revolutionary forces, into a single front for pressing the struggle against the enemies of the Arab nation. The common denominator of this broad progressive joint struggle against imperialism and Israel. For this purpose, we should of all forms of struggle in the forefront of the struggle and popular revolutionary war declared against Israel and all strategic and cultural interests of imperialism anywhere in the Arab homeland."

Discussing the outcome of the deliberations of the Arab National Council in Cairo towards the end of the month, Sd. Hawatma said the conference yielded new results. He added: "The new should be prepared to absorb the lessons of the barbaric campaign and the current and international developments. These include:

1. — Comprehensive law of association between the struggle against imperialism and the struggle against Zionism.

(Continued on page 2)

A.B.S.P.-P.D.F. TALKS OPEN

Talks between the delegation of the National Leadership of Arab Baath Socialist Party and the Popular Democratic Front started yesterday evening in Baghdad.

The Iraqi side to the talks, attended by representatives of Arab Liberation Front, was headed by Comrade Abdul Karim al-Sheikhly, Member of the National Leadership and the Foreign Minister, while the Popular Democratic Front delegation was headed by Sd. Naif Hawatma, the Secretary General of the Front.

The talks, which lasted for three hours, surveyed international and Arab circumstances in general and those of the Arab resistance in particular.

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... against ...
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1 - Continuation of the
law of association between ar-
med struggle and Israel
(Continued on page 4)

1 - Continuation of the
law of association between ar-
med struggle and Israel
(Continued on page 4)

VITAL ISSUES DISCUSSED WITH D.P.F.L.P. SEC. GEN.

(Continued from page 1)

and rejection of the liquidationist formulas on the one hand and what is going on in Amman, on the other. Perhaps for the thousandth time, the reactionary ruling faction has demonstrated its refusal to subordinate secondary contradictions with the resistance movement to the main contradiction with Israel and imperialism. Accordingly, the Amman ruling faction insists on solving the contradiction with the resistance movement first, before giving any thought to opening fire on Israel and imperialism.

In this way, the ruling faction in question has written off once forever the possibility of coexistence with the resistance movement. It has thus become clear that the extrication of the resistance movement from its present impasse along with the Palestine issue depends on settling the contradiction with the Amman ruling faction in favour of a national regime that rejects all liquidationist formulas, and is willing to deal with the resistance movement within a common front aiming for escalating the revolution into a popular revolutionary war.

2 — The building of a Jordanian-Palestinian national front, backed up with a joint programme for democratic national liberation in the Eastern Bank, side by side with protecting and maintaining the Palestine Revolution — these represent the firm reply to the splits visited upon the body of the Jordanian-Palestine society and planted by the front of Palestine-Jordanian reaction as represented by the existing regime which has been putting to advantage the 'acclimatization' of the Palestine struggle and 'the Palestinization' of the Palestine issue. Such a national front is the only reply to the attempts of reaction to force our people in the direction of the proposed puppet Palestine state.

3 — The September events have clearly shown that the resistance movement was, by

its dealings with official Arab institutions, paralysed and, in many cases, rendered powerless to take political or military initiatives to solve the contradiction with the reactionary faction in Amman and get all guns directed against the Zionist-imperialistic enemy. This, to a large extent, accounts for the silence assumed by the Arab masses vis-a-vis the September massacre. The masses expected the resistance movement to put forward a revolutionary programme to undo the June defeat. The resistance movement, however was fully preoccupied with dealings with official Arab institutions related to short sighted tactical considerations — funds, arms, transport etc. That was, as it were, a substitute for long-range revolutionary relationships with the masses. That state of affairs led the Arab masses to turn half their back to the Palestine resistance movement. What is now needed is to redress that relationship in the interest of alliance with the popular Arab liberation movement which should be taken as the criterion for judging relations with any Arab institution with the object of mobilising the energies of national revolutionary Arab classes and amalgamating them into a joint front with the resistance movement against the common enemy namely imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction.

4 — It therefore becomes necessary to build relations between the resistance battalions and the national forces in the Eastern Bank on the basis of an equal front whose components are held together by a common programme to achieve democratic national liberation in the Eastern Bank and attain to the goals of the Palestine Revolution. These basic lessons have eluded many of the resistance battalions and in particular the rightist wing. Things continued to stay where they are as if the September events never happened.

At the recent meetings of the Palestine National Council, we warned that to keep things where they stood was an invitation to other disasters comparable to the June catastrophe. As I stated earlier in hand and the resistance this interview, the National Council made no step forward whatsoever; it simply let things rest where they are and maintained the conditions of general paralysis within the ranks of the resistance movement thereby compelling the movement in question to make further military retreats in the face of the assaults of the reaction of Amman and political retreats in the face of the Ar-

implement the Security Council's liquidationist resolution.

The objective solution will come not from within the meeting place of the National Assembly but rather from without. The objective solution is the building of a progressive national front combining all progressive radical national battalions and national forces in the Eastern Bank. This arrangement can be counted upon to rectify the internal conditions of the resistance movement and put an end to the rift within the Jordanian-Palestine society. It will also provide the right revolutionary answers to the onslaughts of the reactionary faction of Amman and to all liquidationist schemings including the proposed puppet Palestine state.

Sd. Hawatma next spoke of the current conditions attending the unity of the resistance movement and the movement's possibilities in discharging its duties. He said: "The current relationship formulas dated back to the pre-September era when broad national coalitions were set up with a minimal common programme based on three issues. These were:

1 — Keeping up the struggle against the Zionist enemy.

2 — Protecting the resistance movement against the imperialistic and reactionary attempts at encirclement and extermination.

3 — Resisting jointly the liquidationist formulas put forward in connection with the Palestine issue."

Sd. Hawatma added: "From that state of affairs there arose the various forms of relationship as we now know them: an armed struggle command, a national council, an executive committee, a joint command following the reactionary onslaught of February 10, 1970 and the central committee. After September, however it became abundantly clear that the Palestine Resistance Movement was face to face with new conditions. The depth of contradictions between Arab reaction on the one hand and the resistance movement and the national movement on the other became clearly discernable. It became incumbent upon the resistance movement to struggle for putting an end to the encirclement and extermination attempts made by the forces of reaction. Further it became clear that the horizontal split within the body of the Jordanian-Palestine society could no longer be passed in silence as

ween the resistance battalions. It is necessary therefore to draw up the new minimal common programme dealing with the issue of the Jordanian-Palestinian national front and the issue of protecting and developing the resistance movement."

Replying to a question on the call made for the union of the progressive forces and the relation this has with his visit to Iraq, Sd. Hawatma said: "The nature of the current stage dictates upon all Arab revolutionaries to establish a broad Arab front against imperialism and Zionism as represented by Israel and the Arab reaction. Our battle with Israel is at the same time our battle with imperialism. Any attempt to separate them is arbitrary and, more than that, a suspect rightist endeavour."

Sd. Hawatma added: "As long as the imperialistic interests in the region are secure, American imperialism will go on backing Israel. It is by jeopardising such interests that American imperialism can be driven to revise its attitude. Imperialism has no permanent friends; it has permanent interests. What is amazing indeed is that nearly four years from the imperialistic-Zionist onslaughts the interests of American imperialism remain untouched despite America's outright hostility to the Arab national liberation movement and outright and total support for Israel. Naturally, American imperialism will proceed with its support for Israel with fine nonchalance. Our visit to Baghdad has therefore materialised with the object of discussing all of these issues with the progressive and national elements — the enemies of imperialism, colonialism Zionism and reaction. We are in the process of taking up the issue of relationship between the revolutionary, national and honest forces within the resistance movement and the revolutionary national forces in every Arab country including Iraq with the purpose of closing our ranks against the liquidationist formulas including at the top the Palestine state plan. It is common knowledge that the Palestine issue was never exclusively of a Palestine character. Rather it long remained a pan-Arab issue of interest to peoples around the world struggling against imperialism and Zionism. We will also be raising the issue of building the pan-Arab revolutionary front for facing up to the common enemy."

In conclusion, Sd. Hawatma stressed that the Arab nation could not afford to waste any more time. Time has become

all liquidationist formulas and is willing to deal with the resistance movement within a common front aiming for escalating the revolution into a popular revolutionary war.

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At the recent meetings of the Palestine National Council, we warned that to keep things where they stood was an invitation to other disasters comparable to the June catastrophe. As I stated earlier in this interview, the National Council made no step forward whatsoever; it simply let things rest where they are and maintained the conditions of general paralysis within the ranks of the resistance movement thereby compelling the movement in question to make further military retreats in the face of the assaults of the reaction of Amman and political retreats in the face of the Arab pressure groups at work to

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It also became apparent that the Arab, international and local developments were all pressing in the direction of the comprehensive liquidation of the Palestine issue and the creation of the Palestine puppet state under the impact of daily reactionary police-state violence. It became clear too that the substitution of relations with Arab institutions for direct relations with the Arab masses has led the masses to assume a passive stand vis-a-vis the resistance movement as was glaringly portrayed in the September campaign."

Sd. Hawatma added: "These problems can no longer be settled within the framework of the current relationships between

American imperialism and can be driven to revise its attitude. Imperialism has no permanent friends; it has permanent interests. What is amazing indeed is that nearly four years from the imperialistic-Zionist onslaughts the interests of American imperialism remain untouched despite America's outright hostility to the Arab national liberation movement and outright and total support for Israel. Naturally, American imperialism will proceed with its support for Israel with fine nonchalance. Our visit to Baghdad has therefore materialised with the object of discussing all of these issues with the progressive and national elements — the enemies of imperialism, colonialism Zionism and reaction. We are in the process of taking up the issue of relationship between the revolutionary, national and honest forces within the resistance movement and the revolutionary national forces in every Arab country including Iraq with the purpose of closing our ranks against the liquidationist formulas including at the top the Palestine state plan. It is common knowledge that the Palestine issue was never exclusively of a Palestine character. Rather it long remained a pan-Arab issue of interest to peoples around the world struggling against imperialism and Zionism. We will also be raising the issue of building the pan-Arab revolutionary front for facing up to the common enemy."

In conclusion, Sd. Hawatma stressed that the Arab nation could not afford to waste any more time. Time has become an issue of destiny for all forces operating to liquidate the Palestine issue in 1971 as Rogers stated", Sd. Hawatma said. — INA

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BRITISH EMBASSY

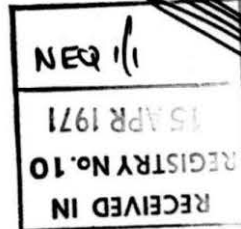
BAGHDAD

(17)

1/7

10 April 1971

Miss V A Beckett
Near Eastern Department
FCO



Dear Veronica,

BA'ATH PARTY 24TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS

1. The 24th Anniversary of the foundation of the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party took place on 7 April. By the time you receive this letter, you will have seen the Celebrations described on page 11 of the Arab World for 8 April. Despite a certain build-up in the press beforehand, they did not, in fact, amount to very much; they were organised by the National (ie International) Leadership, under its (Syrian) Assistant Secretary-General, Shibli al-Aysami.
2. Telegrams expressing support and admiration from all manner of revolutionary masses, including Kurds, were received at Party Headquarters. In the afternoon an 'Oratory Festival' was held at Mustansiriyah University (one of the 2 universities in Baghdad); and leading members of the Party were addressed by President Bakr, in his capacity as Secretary-General of the Regional (ie Iraqi) Leadership. In the evening, a banquet was held to which were summoned not only the Iraqi Party and Governmental leaders and the Diplomatic Corps, but also representatives of the Party's grass roots in the peasantry and proletariat. Although the 2 groups mingled together at the reception, at dinner they were firmly separated. Unlike last year, the celebrations did not include a recital of his own poetry by Vice President Ammash; although (according to banner headlines in the press) President Bakr announced on 1 April "Poet is Nation's mouth-piece", Ammash did his stint subsequently at the poetry festival at Basra and may have realised that once in a week was enough!
3. Other more public manifestations of the anniversary included:
 - a an enlarged and particularly indigestible edition of the Baghdad Observer (copy enclosed for FCO), containing large gobbets of raw manifesto.
 - b a holiday for educational institutions declared, presumably, to allow the parades by Boy Scouts and school children on foot, and chanting, clapping 'youth' (unidentified, but Party-organised) in lorries, to be organised.
 - c the creation of an "Order of 7 April" to which, however, no nominations have yet been made.
 - d the official conversion of President Bakr's old house in Mansour into a "Museum of the Ba'ath Party". (It had, in fact, been open for some months; but the occasion was taken to launch it officially.)

- 1 -

CONFIDENTIAL

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4. Conspicuous by their absence from the banquet and the Celebrations generally, were the titular head of the National Leadership, Michel Aflaq, and Saddam Hussain, Deputy Secretary General of the Regional Leadership. The absence of the former indicates that the quarrel between the 2 wings which the Ambassador reported in his letter of 14 November 1970, has not been healed; but the absence of the latter is very curious and we have not yet been able to think of a very convincing explanation. The Lebanese Ba'ath sent an impressive representative in the form of Dr Rifa'at from Tripoli; but any image of solidarity that his presence was intended to convey, must have been diminished by the fact that only the Lebanese Ambassador seemed to know who he was.

76 NEW 11 (1970)
see file (19) Yours ever,
'Dr Abdul Nagid Rifa'i' Cmmrph
A C D S MacRae

Copied to Chanceries, Amman, Beirut, Bahrain Residency, Kuwait, Tehran



BRITISH EMBASSY
BAGHDAD

W 17

1/7

4 April 1971

Miss V A Beckett
Near Eastern Department
FCO

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No. 10
21 APR 1971

NEO 1/1

p/w

Dear Veronica,

BA'ATHI CELEBRATIONS

Adrian Sindall in Beirut will have noticed the slip in the last sentence of my letter of 20 April: "Dr Rifa'at" should read "Dr Abdul Magid Rifa'i". Sorry!

10 APRIL
Klu (17)

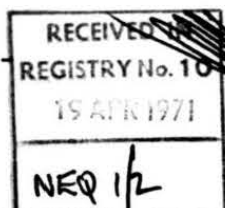
Yours,

Christopher

A C D S MacRae

Copy to British Embassy
Beirut

pub



April 8th, 1971

Enter

18

(SPECIAL REPORTS)BAATH PARTY CELEBRATES 24TH ANNIVERSARY

Baath Party

A small villa at Baghdad's Al Mansour suburb yesterday officially became the "Museum of the Baath Party." Erected on 600 square metres of land, the villa was the home of General Ahmed Hassan Al Bakr, the Secretary General in Iraq of the Party, before he was made President on July 17th, 1968, when the Baathists seized power after ousting the regime of former President Abdel Rahman Aref.

A special party committee had been working for almost two years on turning Bakr's villa into a party museum, where party documents are on display. One room in the museum is entirely devoted to the July 17th, 1968, revolution. On the walls of the room are hung pistols and machine-guns, which Baathists, including General Bakr himself, carried on the morning of the coup in support of the army take-over in Baghdad. A special glass box carried "Communique No. 1" which announced the "revolution." Displayed in other glass boxes are other communiques issued to consolidate the revolution, including the provisional constitution under which the Baathist regime set out to rule the country.

President Bakr, accompanied by high-ranking Party and regime leaders, including Sidam Hussein Takriti, the National (Iraqi) Command's Assistant Secretary General and the Deputy Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council, visited the museum a few days ago. But the museum was inaugurated yesterday to mark the 24th birthday of the Baath Party.

Planned for the occasion was a youth festival in Baghdad, which would end in a march through the streets of Baghdad with youngmen carrying party and revolutionary banners. Yesterday, Baghdad's AL THAWRA, the daily which speaks for the Party, decorated its front-page with a salutation from President Bakr to all Baathists. "The Baath Party, which led the struggle for so many years, reflects the will and aspirations of the Arab nation", he said.

The Iraqi press also carried statements on the Baath anniversary by Chibli Al Aisami, a Syrian who is now the Assistant Secretary General of the Baghdad-based Pan-Arab Command of the Party.

The significant point emphasized by Mr Aisami was that the Baath Party wants to make of the Baathist rule in Iraq an "example" to be followed in the rest of the Arab world. Like other Baathist leaders, Mr Aisami emphasized that the prime mission of the Party is to fulfill Arab unity and the oneness of the Arab nation.

The Other Experience. Mr Aisami's statement that the regime in Baghdad is the example of Baathist rule, did not only indicate rejection of the Baathist regime in Damascus, but also showed the insistence by the Baathist leaders in Baghdad of making out of Iraq the leader of all Baathists.

This feeling originally stems from insistence by Baghdad that the Pan-Arab Command there is the highest and the legal authority of the Baath Party everywhere. This command, it will be recalled, was ousted in Damascus in February, 1966, in the coup under Major General Salah Jadid, who in turn has now been removed from power in what was described as the "corrective movement" by Lt-General Hafez Assad, who is now the Syrian President.

Assad himself participated in the 1966 coup and, therefore, he does not recognize the Baghdad-centred Pan-Arab command as the highest authority in the Party. In fact, Assad's own faction of the Party is to establish its own Pan-Arab Command.

SPECIAL REPORTS, Cont'dBaath Party

From the start, General Assad announced disapproval of the regime in Baghdad --and informed observers say his criticism is mainly aimed at the Syrians who are in the Iraq-sponsored Pan-Arab Command. Other than Aisami, these include former head of state Lt-General Amin Hafez. The Iraqi regime, though obviously maintaining that the faction in power in Damascus does not represent the Baath Party, appeared willing to have formal cooperation with the Syrian Government under Assad, while it made no move to cooperate with the ousted Syrian regime of Dr Nour-eddin Attassi. This cooperation is demonstrated in the Iraqi-Syrian talks on sharing of the Euphrates water and in the joint railroad projects (see Page 10).

Syria Leads. In claiming the right to Baathist leadership, the Iraqis depend mainly on the fact that their country is bigger and richer than Syria. The Syrians, though, regard themselves as the initiators of Baathism and the founders of the Party.

The Party was originally started by two Syrian professors, Michel Aflak and Salah Bitar, about 1942. April 7th, 1947, was decided as the founding date of the Party because on that day the Party's first Pan-Arab Congress, in which Party representatives from Arab countries participated, was held.

Mr Bitar, a former Syrian Premier, renounced the Party completely after the 1967 war with Israel, although he had been living here in exile since 1966, when the coup in Damascus then removed the Syrian Government he headed.

Also living in self-exile here is Michel Aflak, who had refused to live in Baghdad even though he is still regarded as the Secretary General of the Baghdad-based Pan-Arab Command. Mr Aflak is known to strongly disapprove of party divisions, and in an article published here last month, he called for unity between Syria, Iraq and Egypt.

Given the present split in Baathist ranks, plus the current strong conflict between the Iraqi and Egyptian regimes, Aflak may be asking for the impossible.

Emerging Syrian Baathist. In Damascus, Mahmoud Al Ayyoubi, now Vice President, is emerging as the most important Baathist after General Assad. Ayyoubi may be now the ideologist of the Assad Baathist faction. He has given a long interview to Damascus' AL BAATH about the party and its mission (see our bulletin yesterday).

Mr Al Ayyoubi talked of the Party's struggle over the past twenty years. In the 1950s, he said, the Party backed the Pan-Arab thought, and used its progressive socialist ideology to confront isolationist and "fascist" movements, an allusion to "Greater Syria" plans. In the 1960s, the party, he added, defined the course it wanted to follow towards application of socialism. "We can safely say today that socialism has triumphed in this country (Syria), and the party has been able to prove, in theory and practice, that the only way to a better future on the Arab soil is socialism."

In that period, the Party, Mr Al Ayyoubi went on to explain, moved from the circle of intellectuals to the ranks of the masses. The main experience of the party in Syria is its taking-over the responsibility of Government, after it had been in the opposition for so many years.

It will be recalled that Baathists participated in governments in the 1950s, but it was only after the March, 1963 coup, which ousted the "secessionist" regime of President Nazem Kodsi, that the Baathists seized power and ruled by themselves after purging the Government in April that year of the Nasserites.

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Really, this correspondence
must now cease. It
is positively dull. (19)
BRITISH EMBASSY
BAGHDAD

1 May 1971

1. ~~Mc~~ Beckett

18.6/5 2. Enter

3. ~~Mc~~ Beckett

31/5 (Arabin)
pull off 6/5

1/7

S L Egerton Esq
Near Eastern Department
FCO
LONDON SW1



Dear Stephen,

ASSASSINATION OF HARDAN TIKRITI

1. My letter 1/7 of 23 April reported a possible rumpus in the Tikriti family which dominates Iraq, following the assassination of Hardan. The next instalment is scarcely thrilling, though the gossips have been busy building it up as best they can; but you may care to have a summary.
2. Early this week a story was current that a close relation of President Bakr and another close relation of Saddam Hussain had been killed or injured. According to one version the attacks had been perpetrated by the angry faction in the clan. A version less wide-spread but sometimes preferred was that the two had shot each other, thereby indicating the existence of a split between Bakr and Saddam.
3. As the week wore on, so did the rumours. By then it was Bakr's 22 year old son who had been smashed-up in a contrived car accident; and it was Saddam's brother (and personal body-guard) who had been shot by an assailant. Meanwhile it was rumoured that the Foreign Minister, Shaikhly, though not a Tikriti, had trebled his body-guard. This was associated with the reported publication in the Kuwaiti Sawt al Khalij of an article headlined "Who was behind the Assassination of Hardan?" below which was an old photograph of Hardan with Shaikhly walking behind him! (Shaikhly has at any rate been inexplicably absent from two successive National Day receptions.) Shibli al Aisami, the Deputy Secretary-General of the National Ba'ath leadership, was rumoured to be under threat of bomb attack. A request made to, and accepted by, the Austrian Ambassador, who lives near both Shibli and Shaikhly, to have his garden searched for concealed gunmen was taken as partial corroboration of the rumour that the whole régime was under attack, etc.
4. As far as Bakr's son and Saddam's brother are concerned the hard facts, as they appeared at the time this goes to press, were less dramatic. A dentist, who is a wife of a friendly Air Force officer, told my Defence Attaché last night that she had been called to examine the jaw of Bakr's son, who had suffered a slight car accident;

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and he was discharged from hospital after her examination. A brother of Saddam, but not the one who is his personal body-guard, was shot in the leg but the "official" explanation is that he did it himself by accident when cleaning a pistol.

5. All that can be safely said at this stage is that with so much smoke there must be a certain amount of flame. I do not myself believe that there is any threat against the régime or any quarrel between Bakr and Saddam. There can be little doubt that there is disaffection amongst the Tikritis but I should be surprised if those in power failed to suppress it.

6. Hardan's 17 year old son, incidentally, told my Morrocan colleague two or three days ago that he had been refused permission to emigrate to Kuwait and was going instead to Algeria.

Very true

Glen

H G Balfour Paul

cc Chanceries:

KUWAIT
BEIRUT
CAIRO
TEHRAN
BAHRAIN RESIDENCY
ALGIERS

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REGISTRY No. 9
- 24 April 1971

NBK 3/359/1

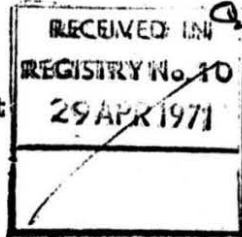


of anything originating from
Mr Hahn. But then
BRITISH EMBASSY
may be a grain of truth
BAGHDAD in all this (just).

23 April 1971

1/1

S L Egerton Esq
Near Eastern Department
FCO
LONDON SW1



Under Mr's Beddell 15/5

9/5 Mr Beaven (Archie)

Mr Felleton (oil)

Dear Stephen

ASSASSINATION OF HARDAN TIKRITI

1. The following tailpiece to my letter 1/1 of 17 April to Richard Evans on the above subject may be of interest - if only because the tailpiece may one day prove to wag the dogpiece, so to speak. It was given to me in the strictest confidence by Cocky Hahn, having been received by him on the same basis, and I must ask that this confidence be respected.

2. President Bakr, Saddam Hussain and Defence Minister Hammad Shihab (amongst others in the corridors of power) are, as you know, Tikritis like the late Hardan. Another member of the clan, who works for the IPC at one of the pipeline stations, is used from time to time as a channel of communication between Hahn and the three top people named. In view of the probability of deadlock continuing in Stockwell's negotiations with the Minister of Oil, Hahn yesterday called in this man, Hussain Tikriti, to prepare the ground for a possible request by Stockwell for an audience with the President or Saddam. On arrival Hussain said he was sorry but he could no longer undertake any such commissions. He proceeded to explain why.

3. Members of the Tikriti "clan", convinced like everyone else that Hardan's assassination was contrived by the Party, are furious with Bakr, Saddam and Shihab for sinking to this extreme impropriety regardless of family solidarity. Some days ago, as a result of a family meeting, a message was sent to the President demanding an explanation. The only reply had been the despatch of Saddam's brother to see Hussain at his pipeline station and propose to him that he should come down to Baghdad and bring the head of the family (an obscure uncle) to see Bakr and Saddam, who would smooth things over. Hussain, who is one of the angry ones, flatly refused but was eventually persuaded by his wife to go and see Minister of Defence Shihab. The latter repeated Saddam's proposal, adding that he himself knew nothing about the assassination. Hussain, who is a large and resolute character, thereupon let Shihab have it from the shoulder. In short he told him that the clan held the three of them - Bakr, Saddam and Shihab - jointly responsible for the

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assassination and that if they thought they could murder a member of their own family just in order to hold on to "the chair", they had another thought coming. As far as he, Hussain, was concerned not only would he certainly not take the old uncle to see the murderers, but he would never darken their blood-stained doors again. And they had better look out.

4. It is, of course, possible that the language used by Hussain to Shihab was not as outspoken and defiant as he gave Hahn to understand. But he is, according to Hahn, a man who calls a bloody spade a bloody spade. If he spoke as he did, he must have known that the clan was solidly behind him; otherwise he would have been courting the same fate as Hardan. The episode indicates, incidentally, that the name al-Tikriti is much more than an indication of where the holder was born and that there is still a very powerful clan feeling amongst its holders, or at least amongst that section of them to whom the players in this drama all belong. We await the next thrilling instalment.

Yours ever
H G
H G Valfour Paul

cc His Excellency
Mr A J Wilton CMG MC
KUWAIT

Chanceries: BEIRUT, CAIRO, TEHRAN and BAHRAIN RESIDENCY

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REGIS 9
-411. 1971

NBK 3/3591



29/4 2. Mrs Beckett

BRITISH EMBASSY

BAGHDAD

3. Mr. Brown

17 April 1971 (Amman)

RECEIVED IN

REG. NO. 10
29 APR 1971

4. Sep copy to

Mr. Brown (PUSD)

Copy sent 29/4 for § 3a.

R M Evans Esq
Near Eastern Department
FCO
LONDON SW1

Dear Richard,

ASSASSINATION OF HARDAN TIKRITI

1. Since Christopher MacRae sent some provisional comments on Tikriti's assassination in his letter 1/7 of 2 April to Steven Egerton I have read with great interest John Wilton's despatch of 7 April on the subject, as well as his letter 2/4 to me of the same date.

2. It seems unlikely that we shall ever know the precise facts. The Iraqi authorities for their part have been busily sweeping them under the carpet and would appear to have persuaded the Kuwaitis to do so too. This, of course, only strengthens the universal conviction the assassination was arranged by Ba'ath Party Headquarters here.

3. There is little to be gained by my raking over the (or his) ashes, but two points of interest may deserve attention:-

a. You will have seen on other papers that there are very distinct suspicions that Tikriti was indeed engaged with a number of notorious opponents of the régime in planning a coup de main of some sort against the government that threw him out. If anything further comes to light suggesting that Abdul Razzak al Naif, who was permitted to take-up residence in London on the understanding that he kept out of politics, was actively engaged with him in such a ploy, I should have something further to say about his continued presence in London.

b. There is, as you know, some evidence that President Bakr was in touch with Tikriti during the last few weeks of his life with a view to "an innocuous reconciliation" (as John Wilton describes it) and perhaps his return to honourable retirement in Iraq. This may lend some colour to current rumours that there are differences of opinion and policy between President Bakr and Saddam Hussain, who is generally regarded as having master-minded the assassination. I do not myself credit the stories of friction between Bakr and his lieutenant. Indeed it is my belief they work very much hand in glove; and I do not believe

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PUSD



that Saddam could have been planning the assassination of Tikriti without Bakr's knowledge, at the very time Bakr was apparently promoting his return to Iraq. Had this been so I think we should certainly have heard ripples from the palace when the assassination took place. I conclude that if Bakr was indeed encouraging Tikriti to believe he would be welcomed back, this can only have been to lull him into the belief that his plotting was unnoticed and that his life was not in danger.

Very
Iraqi,
very probable.

Yours em

H G
H G Balfour Paul

ccHis Excellency Mr A J Wilton CMG MC, KUWAIT
Chanceries at BEIRUT, CAIRO, TEHRAN and BAHRAIN RESIDENCY

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Reference.....

Miss Beckett (Near Eastern Department W 133)

(20)

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No. 10

21 MAY 1971

NEQ 12

IRAQ POLITICAL SITUATION

1. Mr Hughes, a British businessman with connections in Iraq, who had previously had some contact with Mr Hinchcliffe, came to see me today in your absence.
2. The message which Mr Hughes wished to pass was that Saddam Tikriti was making quiet preparations to gain more personal power, possibly by toppling President Bakr, and that Tikriti had suggested that one Tarek Qaddouri, a friend of Mr Hughes, should become Minister of Finance. The story continues that Qaddouri is reluctant but may be obliged to take the job. If he does, he wishes to be sure of British Government "support". He is anxious that relations should improve and that commercial dealings should be intensified.
3. I told Mr Hughes that I was of course not able to give Mr Qaddouri any message. We were, however, equally interested in good relations with Iraq and in doing as much business there as possible.
4. This may be another typical piece of Middle Eastern intrigue with no real foundation, but I thought it worth recording in any event. Mr Hughes promises to return in three weeks.
5. According to Mr Hughes, Tikriti and his friends are thinking of buying a £1 million transmitter for the purpose of beaming Iraqi propaganda to the Gulf and Iran. I forebore from saying that this was perhaps not designed to demonstrate their good intentions towards us.

H J O R Tunnell

H J O R Tunnell
Oil Department
(G 66/C G762)

19 May 1971

Miss Beckett O.R.

10/6

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16/5

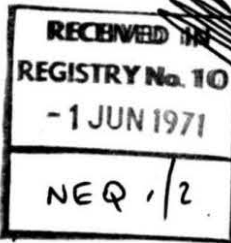
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British Embassy

BAGHDAD

(21)



9/7

22 May 1971

Miss V E Beckett
Near Eastern Department
F C O

Not really, unless you believe that he is bound to be working against the Minister of Higher Education

Mr. Egata

Further grounds for but not by ourselves

Writing Dr. Al - Rami?

Dear Veronica,

THE BA'ATH AND "BOURGEOIS CULTURE".

1. I did not report at the time on President Bakr's May Day Speech because in general it was composed of entirely predictable exhortations and platitudes.. However, there was one passage in it which attracted our attention and may prove to have been of significance: this was when the President remarked that "culture must be liberated from its bourgeois distortion Reactionary, liberal and irresponsible cultures still abound and are inconsistent with our cultural policy and nationalist aspirations". I attach a copy of our translation of this piece.

2. I would not have bothered you with my comments on this were it not that much the same line reappeared in President Bakr's address (in fact delivered on his behalf by Vice-President Ammash) at the opening of the First Iraqi Conference on University Education on 15 May.

3. I have found it rather difficult to decide what these remarks were aimed at. A leading Iraqi (lady) official in the Ministry of Information closely connected with literary and artistic circles, told me the other day that she thought that the target was the East German Cultural Mission in Baghdad which had been over-active and over-political in its recent activities. I do not think this theory was specially tailored for her audience: she was in fact off next day for a 3-week visit to the Soviet Union But comfortable as her explanation is, I doubt if it is correct.

4. My own guess is that both speeches reflect to some extent the views of the Minister of Higher Education, Dr Su'ad Ismail (another leading lady) and were directed not so much at any specific foreign cultural body as at the difficulties which the Ba'ath have encountered in trying to attract support from academic circles. In addition to creating a separate Ministry for Higher Education last year, in order to tighten the government's control on the Universities, they have done their best to pack the staff of universities with Party supporters - especially at the level of Deans of Departments. This has not been a successful tactic.

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One of the 3 distinguished British participants at the Conference, Dr Colin Adamson (Head of the Central London Polytechnic) told us that he had discovered a good deal of resentment in the universities over the appointments of these young Ba'athi deans.

5. I have the impression that sections of the Party also feel generally that middle-class professionals are not solidly enough behind the Ba'athist Revolution and the Party leaders may have decided that a little stick-brandishing at this point might help nudge them into line.

6. Be that as it may, I am glad to say that the British Council does not seem to be in any way considered as one of the bastions of "bourgeois culture". The Representative has received many comments of gratitude and appreciation for the attendance of Dr Adamson and the two British medical experts at the Conference (actually the only outsiders to do so except for one UN expert).

Yours ever,

Christopher,

A C D S MacRae

**Extract from the Speech delivered on behalf of President
Ahmad Hasan al Bakr on May Day.**

.....When we talk frankly on this subject, we have to talk about a very prominent task awaiting the Revolution which has the power of influencing the progress of revolutionary applications. This task is that of cultural transformation which has been neglected to a great extent inspite of the importance of its role in the revolutionary changes. Culture must be brought out of its previous ordinary framework and liberated from its bourgeois distortion. There should be a serious new culture for the masses, one which depends on an original revolutionary ideology and an effective formidable material power in the changes.

The Danger of Reactionary and Liberal Cultures.

The cultural sector deserves criticism. Reactionary, liberal and irresponsible cultures still abound and are inconsistent with our cultural policy and nationalist aspirations. It is being promoted to an extent in certain cultural fields and certain scientific institutions. We warn those who do not bind between their cultural duties and the tasks of the Revolution as they are retarding its steps. It is no more permissible to be lenient towards their falsifications and deceit, especially as we are in a difficult hard struggle and in circumstances wherein several forces of Imperialism, Zionism and reaction are greedily working against the Revolution.

2/3

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London S.W.1

Research Department
Riverwalk House
Millbank SW1

RR 6/21

1 February 1971

A C D S Macrae Esq
BAGHDAD

The Ba'ath Party in Syria and Iraq,
1964-70

I enclose a draft Research Department Memorandum on the Ba'ath Parties which has been written by our Middle East Section. We should welcome your comments.

I am also sending a copy to Given in Beirut.

E.E. Orchard
(Director of Research)

ENC

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BRITISH EMBASSY

BAGHDAD

4 June 1971

| |
|---|
| RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No. 10 10 JUN 1971 |
|---|

2/10

Mr E Orchard Esq CBE
Research Department
FCO
LONDON SW4

Mrs Beckett

V. Welch

Reg: capital background. May

1) A letter

Gen have a copy, I have a

2) P/W + submit photo of

him.

keep? 6/10

THE BA'ATH PARTY IN SYRIA AND IRAQ, 1964/70 *W. H. keep?*

1. I am sorry it has taken us such an unreasonable time to collate our comments on the draft memorandum enclosed with your letter RR 6/24 of 1 February. Here they are at last.

(circled)

2. Passing (especially para 35).
I think everyone would agree that the terminology currently used to refer to rival Ba'athist groups - "left-wing", "right-wing", "orthodox", "neo-Ba'athist", etc - is unsatisfactory. (See, for example, the correspondence between this post and Eastern Department resting with Bertie Summers' letter of 27 September 1968 - Eastern Department's file B/1.) The difficulty is to find anything better. Since the differences between the regimes in Damascus and Baghdad are always primarily nationalist and not destructive, it would be more meaningful, if clumsy, to refer to them as "the Syrian Ba'ath under X", "the Iraqi Ba'ath under Y", etc, reserving the term "orthodox" for Aflaq and any of the Party founders and stalwarts still associated with him. If this is not acceptable, I suppose we must rest content with existing terms as long as they are always put in inverted commas. But even so it seems to us begging the question to refer to Assad's coup in Syria as "the ousting of the neo-Ba'athists". Assad's regime is still explicitly Ba'athist, even though he himself may not think in either very abstract or destructive terms; and if his regime is not "neo-Ba'athist", then some other term must surely be found. Para 35 (or something like it) should go somewhere at the beginning of the paper.

Paragraph 7 of Summary and Paragraphs 26 to 28
We find the account of the International Command and its vicissitudes misleading. Firstly, the International Command (recognised by the Iraqi Ba'ath) consists of Aflaq as Secretary-General, 3 Syrians, 3 Lebanese, 3 Iraqis and some representatives of the Sudan, Jordan, Tunisia and Saudi Arabia, all 4 located in Baghdad. Though in a sense led by "a group of French educated Levantine intellectuals" it is largely a puppet of the Iraqi regime, which finances it. Secondly, although the quarrel of last autumn arising out of the Jordan civil war ruffled relations between Aflaq's stalwarts and the Iraqi Ba'ath, it is too strong to speak of a continuing rupture between the International Command as such and the Iraqis. The 2

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principal Syrian members of the Command, Aisami and Farah, and the principal Lebanese, Rafi'i, frequently appear in public here, especially Aisami, who has been granted oracular status in the government-controlled media's handling of his (frequent) statements. And the Command appears to meet here at intervals and to continue its function of legitimizing the Iraqi regime, despite the absence of Aflaq. Perhaps the last 5 lines of paragraph 28 might read:
"..... a suffering of relations between Aflaq's group on the International Command and the Iraqi Ba'ath. The quarrel reportedly led to widespread defections from the "right-wing" Ba'ath in Jordan and the Lebanon; but apart from the continued estrangement of Aflaq himself, the quarrel seems to have been patched-up."
Incidentally, does the rival (Syrian) International Command (which is not mentioned in the Summary) still theoretically exist since Assad's coup? We gather from the Beirut press that there are certainly plans to revive it. If so, a good deal of friction is bound to be generated with the Iraqi-backed "National (ie pan-Arab) Command".

Paragraph 3

A tiny point of detail on the last sentence: it might read
"(In 1967 he escaped and has been living in exile, mainly in Iraq)".

Paragraphs 4 to 7

Though this is not perhaps for us to say, these paragraphs in our view overdo the Alawite angle. Indeed, the last sentence of paragraph 7 scarcely makes sense since Assad himself is an Alawite.

Paragraph 9

As a matter of historical detail, are we not right in stating that in October 1968 Atassi, Zu'ain and Makhas retained with Jafid himself the top 4 places on the Regional Command, which is where power lay, even if 2 of them were dropped from the Cabinet?

Paragraph 12

We should surely hesitate to describe General Hardan al Tikriti as a Ba'athist. It was largely because he was not one that he was ousted and finally assassinated. Perhaps para 24 of the Research Department Memorandum of 5 February 1970 on the Iraqi Ba'ath (July 1968 - January 1970) is misleading on this score. (Incidentally I am surprised that there is no reference to this paper in the preamble.)

Paragraph 15

We would not agree that the Iraqi regime was ever "a divided one". Whatever internal tensions there may be, the guiding principle of the Iraqi Ba'ath is that it must stick together to survive. Later in this paragraph Saddam Hussein is wrongly referred to as Secretary-General of the Regional Command (he is the Deputy); and if you must describe him as a doctrinaire, he should also be credited with ruthless pragmatism. The last part of the paragraph now, of course, requires up-dating.

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Paragraph 14

The tentative conclusion that the differences between the Syrian and Iraqi regimes "were more regional than ideological in substance" seems to us an under-statement as well as semantically obscure. As mentioned already, the fact surely is that the fundamental cause of their disagreement is straightforward national rivalry of a millennial kind. Doctrinal differences are scarcely identifiable at all and their respective attitudes to the UAR over this period reflect their tactical attempts to gain ascendancy over each other in the field of international Arab posturing.

Paragraph 17

It is misleading to describe the inclusion of Kurdish ministers in the Iraqi government since 1970 (which has in any case no Cabinet) as having been for "purely presentational reasons". Their appointment was bound up with the major issue of Iraqi/Kurdish relations and was required by the terms of the Kurdish Peace Settlement.

Paragraphs 18 and 19

The expression "opposing factions within the Party" seems obscure here. The next part of the sentence and the first sentence of paragraph 19 appear to repeat themselves.

Paragraph 20

In the last sentence of the paragraph the term, neo-Ba'athist, appears for once to include Assad's lot. See above.

Paragraph 23

For reasons already stated, we would prefer this to read: "Relations between the Ba'ath in Syria and Iraq have been strained, partly because they have represented different tendencies within the Party but much more because of national rivalry. As a cover for this national rivalry, the neo-Ba'athists"

Paragraph 25

We have know of no good reason why so many commentators should have predicted an improvement in Iraq/Syrian relations after Assad came to power and would prefer the first sentence to be watered down. Similarly we should like to see the second sentence begin: "But, again because of nationalist rivalry between Damascus and Baghdad, Iraq's immediate reaction"

Paragraph 26

See our comments above on the International Command. The second sentence might be clearer if it read; "After the "neo-Ba'athist" coup in 1966, which involved the expulsion of Aflaq and other members of the old-guard, the existing International Command was naturally estranged"

Paragraph 27

This seems to us, for reasons already stated, to need some amendment to take account of the fact that the International Command's activities in Iraq are largely window-dressing by the regime which pays for them. Aflaq's estrangement has consequently had little practical effect here.

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Paragraph 29

The fourth sentence no doubt ought to be true; but is it? Such members of regional organizations elsewhere as are ideologically motivated may look to the Party founders for guidance; but the rest must surely look to whatever Ba'athist centre gives them most material support. The last sentence in the paragraph would be better omitted.

Paragraph 30

We would suggest the following re-draft of the last 2 sentences: "The Ba'ath, despite its theoretical or long-term commitment to the nationalisation of foreign oil concerns, has not - in terms of legislation - taken things further than Qasim's Law 80 of 1961 (which limited the activities of the IPC to areas under production and thus deprived it of the major part of its concessionary areas) and Law 97 of 1967, empowering its National Oil Company (INOC) to exploit the confiscated areas. Various attempts have been made to promote a settlement with the IPC of resulting claims and counter-claims, but little progress has yet been achieved."

Paragraph 32

We do not like the first part of the sentence at all and suggest instead: "..... a picture is presented of 2 Ba'athist regimes operating under the same ideological slogans and maintained in power by the same technique of intimidation but divided by national and other differences and conspicuously hostile to each other: rival". It might be worth adding a sentence about the splits in the party press outlets in Beirut too. As I understand it, the Iraqis withdrew their subsidy from Al-Akhbar, which was edited by Aflaq, earlier this year and have chosen as their alternative vehicle Al-Kifah. Aflaq's paper has consequently had to close down through lack of funds.

Paragraph 33

See comments above on Haidan al Tikriti and on the International Command.

Paragraph 36

Certainly the Ba'ath, like any other regime in Iraq, depends on the backing of well placed elements within the armed forces. But I do not think it true to say the regime has "tended to separate into civilian and military factions". What has happened is that the Party has, by wholesale penetration and intimidation, established a stranglehold over potential dissidents in the armed forces (or anywhere else). This process has the support of the principal military figures in the regime - though no doubt most of the officer cadre as a whole resent it (as did Haidan al Tikriti). If you do feel obliged to note disparate trends within the Iraqi Ba'ath, I would bank on "doctrinaire" and "pragmatic" as being 2 more handy adjectives.

Paragraph 40

To the second sentence, you might add "and also over the treatment of domestic communists".

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Paragraph 41

The opening sentence surely evades the question. The real issue, at least as far as Iraq is concerned, is whether any conceivable alternative regime would be more beneficial to western interests or strong enough to reverse the drift towards dependence upon the communist bloc which has become so marked in recent years. We ourselves doubt whether there is an Iraqi Suharto hovering in the background.

3. I enclose, in case it is of any interest, a combined list I have been trying to compile of the membership of the 3 main organs of the party, to wit -

a The Regional (ie Iraqi) Command of the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party (described wrongly, I think in the annex to RD Memorandum of 5 February⁵⁰, as the "Regional Command Council"

b the Revolutionary Command Council, which is virtually, but not quite, identical with the Regional Command, which is in effect the highest executive body in Iraq under the present regime.

c The National (ie pan Arab) Command of the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party (Iraqi version). I am not convinced that the first and third of these are quite up to date, and hope to be able to cross-check them soon. If alterations prove necessary, I will let you know.

A C D S MacRae

Copied to: E F Given Esq CME
Beirut

S L Egerton Esq
Near Eastern Dept
FOO

MEMBERSHIP OF THE (IRAQI) BA'ATH, MAY 1971

القيادة القطرية

1. Regional (ie Iraqi) Command of the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party

| | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Ahmad Hassan al Bakr | Secretary General |
| Saddam Hussain al Tikriti | Deputy Secretary General |
| Salih Mehdi Ammash | Member |
| Abdul Karim Abdul | " |
| Sattar al-Shaikhli | " |
| Izzat Mustafa | " |
| Abdul Khaliq al Samarra'ie | " |
| Izzat al Duri | " |
| Murtadha al Hadithi | " |
| Taha al Jazrawi | " |
| Hain Haddad | " |
| Samir al-Wajim | " |
| Tayeb Abdul Karim | " |
| Mohammed Fadhel | " |

2. Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council

مجلس الثورة

| | |
|---|---|
| Field-Marshal Ahmad Hassan al Bakr | President of the Republic |
| Sd Saddam Hussain | Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council - Deputy Secretary - General of the Regional Leadership of the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party |
| General Salih Mehdi Ammash | Vice-President of the Republic |
| * General Hamud Shihab | Minister of Defence |
| * General Sa'dun Ghaidan | Minister of the Interior |
| Sd Abdul Karim Abdul Sattar al-Shaikhli | Minister of Foreign Affairs - Member of the Regional Leadership of the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party |
| Dr Izzat Mustafa | Minister of Health - Member of the Regional Leadership of the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party |
| Sd Abdul Khaliq al Samarra'ie | Member of the Regional Leadership of the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party |
| Sd Izzat al Duri | Minister of Agrarian Reform - Member of the Regional Leadership of the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party |
| Sd Murtadha al Hadithi | Minister of Labour and Social Affairs - Member of the Regional Leadership of the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party |
| Sd Taha al Jazrawi | Minister of Industry - Member of the Regional Leadership of the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party |
| Colonel Shafiq Hamudi al Bureji | Secretary-General of the Revolutionary Command Council |
| Sd Tahir Tawfiq al 'Ami | Secretary to the Secretary-General of the Revolutionary Command Council |

* Not members of the Regional Command

3. The National (ie non Arab) Command of the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party - Iraqi version

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Michel Aflaq | Secretary General |
| Shihbi al Aisawi | } Syria |
| Kilaa Farah | |
| Dr Saïd Haider | |
| Abdul Majid al Rifa'i | } Lebanon |
| Nicols al Farzali | |
| Radhi Farhat | |
| Ahmad Hassan al Bahr | } Iraq |
| Salah Mahdi Ammash | |
| Abdul Karim Abdul Sattar al Shaikhli | |
| Muhammad Sulaiman | Sudan |
| Kamal Fakheri | Jordan |
| Umar Sahini | Tunisia |
| Ali Channan | Saudi Arabia |

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REGISTRY No. 10

18 JUN 1971

NEQ 1/2

British Embassy

BAGHDAD

23

1/3

14 June 1971

Miss V E Beckett
Near Eastern Department
F C O

Dear Veronica,

CABINET CHANGES

1. Rumours about cabinet changes have continued to circulate since I last wrote to you on the subject on 13 March: but I for one was taken by surprise to see the announcement in today's newspapers of a further cabinet reshuffle. I attach below a copy of the Decree and of the revised Cabinet List.
2. You are spared a lengthy comment since the classified bag left yesterday But you will no doubt not have missed the point that Dr Abdul Baqi al Rawi (formerly Minister of Education) has been dismissed and re-appointed as President of the University of Baghdad (a post which has been vacant for several months since the last President was dismissed after a short period in office - as his two predecessors had been as well). You will find the Acting Minister listed on page 30 of the current LPR. I will return later to the question of the invitation, formally conveyed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 10 June, to Dr Abdul Baqi to visit Britain in October.
3. Otherwise, the re-shuffle is merely a matter of musical chairs: there are no new names on the list. Murtadha al Hadithi who has injected considerable vigour into the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (which has tended in the past not to be headed by an activist minister), has been rewarded by translation to one of the key ministries.

*Yours ever,
Christopher.*

ENCS

A C D S MacRae

c.c. Chanceries at:-

Beirut, Kuwait (with enclosures)

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THE BAGHDAD OBSERVER (June 14, 1971).

CABINET RESHUFFLE

A Republican Decree was published yesterday announcing a cabinet reshuffle. The decree, signed by President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr, provided for the following :

1. The appointment of Murtadha al Hadithi as Minister of Economy.
2. The appointment of Khaled Makki al-Hashimi as Minister of Transport.
3. The appointment of Anwar Abdul Qader as Minister of Labour and Social Affairs.
4. The appointment of Taha al-Jazzrawi, Minister of Industry, as Acting Minister of Economy for the duration of the absence of Murtadha al Hadithi from Iraq.
5. Relieving Dr. Saad Abdul Baqi of the post of Minister of Education.
6. Appointing Dr. Ahmed Abdul Sattar al Jawari, Minister of State for Presidential Affairs as Acting Minister of Education.

A second Republican Decree announced the appointment of Dr. Saad Abdul Baqi as President of the University of Baghdad.

IRAQI MINISTERS

(AS ON 14 JUNE, 1971)

| | |
|---|---|
| Field-Marshal Ahmad Hasan al Bakr | President of the Republic |
| General Salih Mahdi Ammash | Vice-President of the Republic |
| General Hammad Shihab | Minister of Defence |
| General Sa'dun Ghaiden | Minister of the Interior |
| Sd. Abdul Karim Abdul Sattar al Shaikhli | Minister of Foreign Affairs |
| Sd Amin Abdul Karim | Minister of Finance |
| Sd Aziz Sharif | Minister of Justice |
| Dr Su'ad Khalil Ismail | Minister of Higher Education and Scientific Research |
| Sd Murtadha al Hadithi | Minister of Economy |
| Dr Izzat Mustafa | Minister of Health |
| Sd Shafiq al Kamali | Minister of Information |
| Sd Adnan Ayyub Sabri | Minister of Communications |
| Sd Nafith Jalal | Minister of Agriculture |
| Sd Izzat Ibrahim al Duri | Minister of Agrarian Reform |
| Dr Taha Ibrahim al Abdullah | Minister of Irrigation |
| Sd Nuri Shawiz | Minister of Works and Housing |
| Dr Rashid al Rifa'ie | Minister of Planning |
| Sd Taha al Jazrawi | Minister of Industry |
| Dr Sa'dun Hammad | Minister of Oil and Minerals |
| Sd Ihsan Shirzad | Minister of Municipal and Rural Affairs |
| Sd Anwar Abdul Qadir al Hadithi | Minister of Labour and Social Affairs |
| Sd Hamed al Juburi | Minister of Youth |
| Sd Muhammad Mahmud | Minister of Development of the North |
| Dr Abdullah al Khudhayyir | Minister of Unity |
| Sd Khalid Makki al Hashimi | Minister of Transport |
| Dr Ahmad Abdul Sattar al Jawari | Minister of State for Presidential Affairs and for Awqaf Affairs and Acting Minister of Education (14.6.71) |
| Sd Salih al Yusifi | Minister of State |

19 JUN 1971

L3 (24)

INTERNATIONAL REPORT

43

Iraq

Lonely hearts
in Baghdad

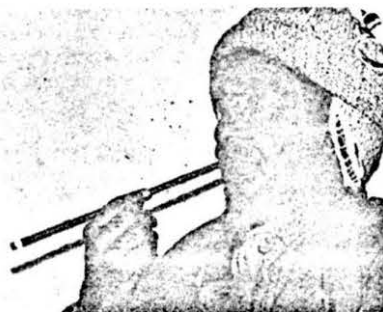
FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

Credit where credit is due. The Baathist regime in Iraq has been in power for almost three years. Its cease-fire with the Kurds, while not producing a final settlement, has survived for 15 months. No other Iraqi government, since Qasim's regime was overthrown in 1963, has been so successful in breaking free from the country's vicious circle of coups and civil war. This makes the Baath feared and respected—despite its enemies and its splits.

A faction in their own country, the Baathists are even more out on a limb in the Arab world. Their isolation has thrown them into ideological confusion. They see themselves as the true missionaries for Arab unity but they are on bad terms with almost every Arab state and are particularly contemptuous of the proposed federation between Egypt, Syria and Libya. They are distrusted by the Palestinian guerrillas, to whom they lend verbal support but whom they abandoned last September in spite of promising them aid in the event of a showdown with King Hussein. Strident posters in Baghdad showing automatic weapons crossed above a symbol of the Rogers plan proclaim their opposition to a negotiated settlement with Israel. The most bellicose of the Arab states, Iraq's own contribution to the struggle has been to withdraw its 20,000 troops from the front. In this realm of unreality the Baathists find their friends among such other lonely hearts of the world as the North Koreans, the east Germans and the South Yemenis.

Some of Iraq's rulers believe that this isolation offers a providential opportunity to set their own house in order; others contend that they should be more active in paving the way for a pan-Arab revolution. Only fragments of such debates leak out from the inner counsels of the Baath party caucus and the 11-man revolutionary council which together run the country. The Baath in power has retained the secretiveness of an underground movement as well as the same reliance on a network of party cells. Its leaders remain shadowy figures, none more so than Saddam Hussein Takriti, vice-president and the strongest personality in the government.

Experience has taught the Baath the



And Barzani sups with a long spoon too

mechanics of staying in power. The regime is possibly more ruthless than its predecessors; its precautions are certainly more efficient. The secret police are better organised and better equipped. The army and the civil service have both been thoroughly purged. Anybody contemplating revolution must now count on seizing three radio stations in Baghdad instead of one. Dangerous men have a way of disappearing. Air Marshal Hardan Takriti, a former defence minister and a cousin of Saddam Hussein, was assassinated when he stepped out of his car in Kuwait on March 30th.

The exclusiveness of the Baath and its mafia-style politics inflame the hostility of Iraq's numerous political groups—communists, progressives, Arab nationalists, nasserists. These groups, operating underground, have no political power today. But without their tacit co-operation the civil service is deprived of much of the educated talent on which the country's development depends. Nor can the Baathists expect Iraq to remain for ever immune from the demands for a more liberal form of government which are wafting through Egypt and Syria. They do their best; for instance, they permit no western newspapers except for selected editions of *The Economist*. The government press is filled with dull and windy ideological tracts. The Kurdish newspaper *El Taakhi* is the one Iraqi paper that provides debate and criticism; not surprisingly, it has the largest circulation of any in Baghdad.

Like others before him, Saddam Hussein Takriti believes the Baath must widen its appeal. A tough, dedicated revolutionary, he came out of his shell in February when he answered questions on television in a remarkable performance for one who has rarely, if ever, faced the cameras before. He is believed to be behind the current emphasis on internal economic development, and the government's efforts to raise the standard of living.

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p 24/6

There are signs that the government is determined to put the additional revenue won from the western oil companies to good use (see page 82). The new five-year plan is a more sophisticated piece of economics and shows a more sensible order of priorities than its predecessors. More money than ever before, 34 per cent of government investment, is going to agriculture—which provides employment for nearly half the population and is the country's most productive source of wealth outside oil. Humiliatingly, Iraq has become an importer of grain.

More Iraqi goods are appearing in the shops. And Iraqi businessmen, who have in the past been clobbered by a rigid application of Baathist socialism, now speak more hopefully of official efforts to encourage investment in private or mixed-sector projects. Iraq's economy for some time to come will be weighed down by the heavy backlog of debt to Russia and eastern Europe. Almost all arms purchases and most foreign investment come from this quarter and the Russians are being sticky about repayment. Since June, 1969, Iraq has received credit worth more than £200 million. Some of this will be repaid in bartered oil, but the balance must be found in hard currency. The government would like to break free from this dependence on the communist world but it has not, as yet, found sufficient common ground with the west.

The Baath's most serious political problem, aside from broadening its support, is how to reach a lasting accommodation with the country's 2 million Kurds. Much of the package deal which ended the ten-year war in March last year has been put into limbo. The census, promised for last autumn, has never been held. This was to have determined the size of a semi-autonomous Kurdistan and, in particular, whether the oil-producing area of Kirkuk would fall to the Kurds or to the Arabs. The two sides accuse each other of encouraging the settlement of tribes in a way that would tip the balance of population.

Amid mutual suspicion, the Kurds state two main grievances. They complain they are getting less than 10 per cent of government investment and have also been refused seats on the revolutionary council. Until they have a voice at the apex of power they see no point in nominating a Kurdish vice-president or Kurdish deputies to a national assembly.

The danger to the Baath is that the Kurds' impatience might lead them to support a rival contender for power.

But it is unlikely that the war will be started all over again. The military situation is such that the Kurds could make no headway on the plains against Iraqi tanks and bombers, and the government could not dislodge the Kurds from their positions in the hills. There are also substantial gains for both sides from the peace. The government now pays for Mullah Mustafa Barzani's 12,000 to 15,000 troops to act as a frontier force and provides pensions for the families of those killed in the war. Barzani retains his heavy armour, and runs his own police and administration in the mountainous areas of the north-east. De facto, if not de jure, he has got much of the autonomy he was fighting for.

Iraq's isolation may first be tested in the Persian Gulf. The regime is fearful of Iranian domination of the area and, in particular, of Iranian acquisition of the three islands commanding the Straits of Hormuz through which a third of Iraq's oil must pass. Over the past year the Iraqis have been half-heartedly balancing offers of friendship to the Gulf sheikhs with support for clandestine groups seeking to overthrow them. If Iran should seize the islands by force, or if there are other eruptions in the Gulf after the departure of British troops, Iraq may decide to act.

19 JUN 1971

REGISTRY No. 10

21 JUN 1971

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Light at the end of the pipeline

The agreement last week between the oil companies operating in Iraq and the Baghdad government should be followed any day now by similar news from Saudi Arabia. The companies are heaving a sigh of relief that they have almost come to the end of the worst six months experienced in years, which began with the ultimatum from the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries for higher prices at the beginning of the year. They may be paying out \$3 billion more as a result, but, as Sir David Barran, chairman of Shell Transport and Trading, told his annual general meeting recently, the companies have been able to raise prices accordingly. Indeed profits "should resume the long term rising trend." The paradoxical result of the successive agreements with the producing countries at Teheran, Tripoli and Baghdad has been to put all the oil companies into the same boat and thus make it easier, with the better balance between supply and demand, to manipulate prices.

The main headache left in the oil world lies with the French companies, CFP and Elf-Erap, which have had

their Algerian assets expropriated and are trying to alter what they consider to be ridiculous terms of compensation by imposing an embargo on Algerian oil. The embargo, in operation for over a month now, consists of a threat by the French companies to sue anyone buying oil which they consider to be rightfully theirs, appears to have been effective for the two-thirds of Algerian oil which is pumped by them (although there have been one or two minor buyers such as Brazil). France is also putting pressure on the United States to freeze a deal recently signed by the El Paso Natural Gas Company of Texas to take Algerian liquefied natural gas over a 25 year period. This week, the White House intervened in the hearings on the deal taking place before the Federal Power Commission, overriding State and Defence Department views that there were no foreign policy objections. At any rate representatives of CFP are now in Algeria talking to Sonatrach, the state oil concern. And there is confidence that the two sides will agree within the next fortnight. Although

Algeria is perhaps the hardest bargainer in the oil world, it, too, needs the revenue.

Elsewhere there have been some nerve-racking moments since the Libyan colonels were persuaded to sign along the dotted line in April. Their deal, which provided Libya with around 65 US cents more a barrel in revenue, was to be the blueprint for the oil which Iraq and Saudi Arabia shipped from the Mediterranean (the bulk of their oil comes via the Gulf and was already covered by the Teheran agreement). But Iraq proved surprisingly obstinate. It wanted the 10 cent a barrel premium awarded to Libya because of the low sulphur content of its oil, despite the fact that Iraqi oil is relatively high in sulphur. The companies which own the Iraq Petroleum Company (British Petroleum, Shell, Compagnie Française des Pétroles and Standard of New Jersey) could not give way on this because of the fear of leapfrogging demands from Libya. The point about the whole series of agreements is that they are meant, at least, to stand for five years.

The sweeteners that Iraq accepted in return for not pressing its claim mean that its share of IPC's profits will go up by about 80 per cent this year, to £330 million, reaching £480 million in 1974. Iraq's chronic financial difficulties (see page 43) made the package too tempting to turn down, especially since it had an interest free loan of £10 million tagged on to it.

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IRAQI BA'ATHISM. DOES IT WORK? DOES IT MATTER?

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SUMMARY

1. What are the professions of this unlovable régime? Do they work in practice? Does it matter, either way, to us? (paragraph 1).
2. Summary of the beliefs of the founder of Ba'athism. The inseparable Trinity and the people's Eternal Mission. Arab resurrection impossible without revolution. Rejection of Nasser's methods. Recognition of the dangers of world communism (paragraphs 2-4).
3. Afleq's programme of action. Like his principles, unobjectionable if scarcely to our taste (paragraph 5).
4. The Iraqi Ba'ath claims to revere his principles and is zealously pursuing his programme locally. It doesn't work all that badly (paragraphs 6-7).
5. Why more thorns than roses? The two standard explanations: that the Iraqi Ba'ath are just thugs and Iraq just ungovernable by democratic process. The second truer than the first (paragraphs 8-9).
6. Why Iraq is difficult to govern nicely. The Sunni minority's established technique of governing it by intimidation (paragraph 10).
7. But the Ba'ath leaders are not thugs pure and simple. Their Ba'athism is not just eye-wash. And their main organised opponents have always been not the bourgeoisie but the communists. On present course a communist take-over less likely than the forced conversion of a failing Ba'athist régime into a Soviet puppet (paragraphs 11-14).
8. Unlovable as they are, our interests would paradoxically be served by propping them up. The complexities of the Middle East appear to preclude this. But we should recognize the consequences (paragraphs 15-16).



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BRITISH EMBASSY

BAGHDAD

17 June 1971

1/1

The Right Honourable
Sir Alec Douglas-Home KT MP
etc etc etc

Sir

1. Like observers elsewhere I find the Iraqi Ba'athist régime, in its internal as well as in its external behaviour, in many ways repellent. But the man on the spot who has to live with it cannot just stand back and be repelled. He must try to understand it, to identify what it is that impels it headlong down such loveless paths. The object of this despatch is to examine the régime's ideological professions, the extent to which these professions supply its motive force and the implications of this (if any) for our own policy-making. What in fact is Iraqi Ba'athism? Does it work? Does it matter?

2. All Ba'athists, even the Syrian ones who have thrown him out, still admit the 60-year old chain-smoking, French-trained, Damascene "Christian" ideologue, Michel Aflaq, as their "onlie begetter". His philosophy, though better documented than Nasser's or any other version of Arab socialism has attracted little study, being dismissed as a sickly child fathered on the Arab Awakening by the joint efforts of coffee-house Marxism and German Romanticism, and left loosely swaddled in rags from the Sermon on the Mount.

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3. To do it justice Aflaq's philosophy, though not profound, has a certain logical coherence as well as a genuine emotional appeal. Starting from the premise that Arab society had been reduced to impotence by centuries of Ottoman/European domination and fragmentation, he defines the mission of the Arabs as the recovery of their long-lost dignity and the regeneration of their national genius. The Arab body politic cannot come alive again (Ba'ath means Resurrection) unless its disiecta membra are reassembled. The Arabs must unite: they cannot unite unless they are free: they cannot be free if they are exploited by outsiders or by each other: they cannot be socialist in penny-packets. Unity, freedom and socialism - the three members of the Ba'ath Trinity - are strictly interdependent: a dogma having, for Aflaq, mystical as well as practical validity. Bravely believing in the capacity of Arabs to love one another, his gospel entailed their moral as well as their material regeneration. But this process could not be set in motion save by the traumatic surgery of revolution - in the sense not just of a single political bouleversement but of a continuing state of mind. Success depended on the faith of the people in their eternal mission. The impetus must therefore come from below, from a natural flowering of the popular will: it could not be imposed from above like Nasserism, whose methods Aflaq deplored - for whereas Aflaq invented a philosophy and sought power, Nasser seized power and invented a philosophy.

4. Imperialist Europe, though still the main enemy, he admired; but since its great qualities were corrupted by self-interest, it was to the "Socialist" camp that Aflaq, earlier

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than other Arabs, turned for guidance. Yet he explicitly recognized in Soviet communism a new imperialist danger to the Arabs. Indeed for all his inspirational rhetoric he was no mere mystic; and he insisted that Arab Socialism, being quintessentially national and pragmatist, was a clean different thing from Communism with its presumptuous claim to universality and scientific truth, its primitive obsession with class war. Moreover, he recognized, as a non-Moslem, the need to accommodate Islam in his philosophy as a valid, indeed seminal, feature of the Arab genius. And he supervised, as early as 1947, the translation of his beliefs into a Party constitution and programme.

5. This committed the Party to the promotion of a single Arab homeland with representative constitutional government, dedicated to the removal of all foreign influence; state ownership of large-scale industries and utilities and state supervision of commerce (to prevent exploitation); modest private enterprise and the sanctity of private property; the redistribution of land into equitable private holdings; planned industrialisation; labour reform and worker participation; and ("within the limits of Arab nationalist ideology") all the familiar freedoms.

6. What have his Iraqi disciples done with all this? The tablets of the law brought down by Aflaq from Montmartre are still ostensibly revered. His basic slogans - "Unity, Liberty, Socialism", "One Arab people with an Eternal Mission" - continued to be proclaimed from the tops of houses and daubed

on their walls. The constitution of the Party remains unchanged. Socialism is still pursued by populist (if not exactly popular) revolution - for gradualism is self-defeating and le bien (so to speak) est l'ennemi du mieux. Government is of the people and for the people, if still by only some of the people. The International Party Command is as inter-Arab as the Iraqi Ba'ath can make it; and Aflaq (though at present estranged, ostensibly over tactics towards Palestine) is still its Secretary-General.

7. Moreover the 1947 programme, as far (they would claim) as lies within their local power, has been largely implemented. They would admit to exceptions. If government is not entirely representative that is because some citizens have not yet seen the light; and similarly if some freedoms are still restricted, was not the promising of them stated to be "within the limits of Arab Nationalist ideology"? Finally, if Ba'athist unity has not yet established itself over the whole Arab homeland, that is because the ambitions of deviating sectionals (shu'ubiyin) have not yet been frustrated by the people. But in Iraq the prescribed social, economic and agrarian re-structuring is there to be seen, on the statute-book if not entirely on the ground. (Every one knows, so the Governor of Baghdad sadly remarked to me, that the Iraqi peasant will only work if whipped.) Foreign influences, though still seeking what they may devour, have been mightily curbed and foreign (oil) concessions have been shown, with due regard for pragmatism, the writings on the wall. Industrial development pushes ahead. Planning is an industry in itself. Internal

exploitation is ended. Peasant cooperatives pullulate. Education is advancing, upwards and sideways. The workers declare their happiness. Opposition movements, communism perhaps excepted, have visibly evaporated. The millenium (so their apologia would conclude) is round the corner. Or almost.

8. So what is the matter? Why are there, to the eye of the beholder, more thorns than roses in the garden? There are two standard explanations. One is that the present régime is actually a gang of power-hungry thugs ruthlessly pursuing their personal or sectional interests under cover of pan-Arab idealism. (In one part of the Arab world, as I was recently reminded, a ba'ethi means an evil spirit resurrected from the dead to haunt the living.) The other is that the Iraqis, both as an ethnological farraigo and as individuals, are ungovernable by democratic process, whatever guise it might appear in.

9. Most observers would agree that both these explanations are at least partly true. Not all would agree with me that the second is truer than the first: even fewer that the first (in so far as it is true) is largely a consequence of the second. How do I justify this latter thesis?

10. What, first, is Iraq? - A congeries of mutually suspicious races, sects and interests, with no ancient sense of identity or common purpose, each section schooled by history to get what it can for itself - of security and advantage during the

centuries of foreign domination, of power and power's fruits during a brief experience of self-rule. Since the '30's rival groups of small-town, minority Sunnites (the dominant caste) have jostled for position, using violence to obtain it and intimidation or if need be assassination to keep it - a technique which neither surprises nor hardly even offends the mass of their compatriots, whatever Fleet Street and the rest of the civilized world may feel about it.

11. The present régime is one such group from the urban, riverain, Sunni minority. (The Shi'ite majority, together with the Kurds and the Christian communities, scarcely figure in the corridors of power - though the Kurds, who are Sunnis and therefore desirable as confessional allies, have been more nearly pacified by this régime than by any of their predecessors.) Is that all the régime is? Is its adoption of Aflaq's misty idealism just so much eye-wash? just an ideological fancydress, without which no régime anywhere can hold court?

12. I think not. Virtually all the régime's leading figures have long Ba'athist credentials which have carried them in and out of prison or exile over the years - and imprisonment in Iraq under any régime is no small price to pay for one's beliefs. The desire for power is seldom pure and never simple, but I believe the régime as a whole (however power may have corrupted it) does share Aflaq's simpler beliefs and socialist aspirations and seeks power to pursue them. They may not be nice chaps (as Aflaq probably is); they may not

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have got far with Unity and Liberty; they may have aroused little genuine enthusiasm amongst the fractious community at large; their whirlwind socialisation may not have brought or be likely to bring prosperity; they may have to rely (as governments seem to have to do in Iraq) on a particularly unappetizing horde of small-time opportunist narks to keep them where they are. But I do not believe they are simply power-hungry thugs themselves. And they are certainly pursuing Aflaq's socialist/populist programme with zeal and against odds.

13. In the light of all the above my answer to the question "Does Iraqi Ba'athism work?" is not, for all the régime's faults, entirely negative. Within the borders of this democratically ungovernable country Aflaq's ideals or ideas are being promoted with some appearance of success. Since the question also means "Is Iraqi Ba'athism capable of survival and of thus providing the sort of stability denied to Iraq in the past and essential to planned development?" the answer in this respect too must be affirmative. And even in terms of economic health and growth, their efforts, if they would stop treating party membership as a qualification for office, are at least better coordinated and more respectable than those of previous revolutionary régimes - particularly in their determination to expand the agricultural infra-structure, diversify the economy and (a Herculean task) eradicate corruption. And it is difficult to deny that their oil policies are paying off.

14. None of this (except of course their oil policies) may

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matter much to us. But what is surely of importance is the following. Throughout their history, the principal force opposing the Ba'ath has not been the conservative bourgeoisie (long politically disorganized and apathetic) but the local communists. More Ba'athist blood has been shed by communists and more communist blood by Ba'athists than by any other agencies. And if (internal) communism is not the imminent threat now that it was in Qassem's day, it is largely the Ba'ath that we have to thank for it. Even today the only foreseeable organized alternative in Iraq to the present régime is a communist one - though the more likely development (and doubtless the one preferred by the Soviet Union), if matters continue on their present course, is that the régime will remain Ba'athist and independent in appearance but a strangleheld puppet of the Kremlin in effect. To the extent that Iraq matters at all in European perspectives, these are hard facts that seem to me to deserve more attention than they get.

15. I realise only too well that the complexities of the Middle East leave us little room for manoeuvre in our broader dealings with Iraq. (It would doubtless require a mutation in our handling of the Shah, for instance, were we to risk being detected genuinely supporting the Iraqi Ba'ath - though it is not always clear to me what it is that the Russians lose in Iran by reason of their policies towards Iraq and what we gain by ours). I realise too that the anti-Western prejudice and suspicion to which "progressives" in Iraq, as elsewhere, feel obliged to give tongue, afford us, when added to other

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unattractive features of this régime, little encouragement to apply any of our diminished resources to underwriting this régime and pulling it back westwards. But let us anyway not blind ourselves to the consequences of its further alienation, its accelerating slither towards Moscow (on which I shall shortly be submitting some observations to Near Eastern Department) or its overthrow.

16. In short, Iraqi Ba'athism does not work likeably and it is difficult to wish it success. Paradoxically our interests would be served by helping it to work better. Nothing much could be done by us to promote this end (supposing it was agreed to be desirable) within the constraints currently inseparable from our Middle East priorities. But we should recognize the consequences.

17. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Resident Representatives in Amman, Beirut, Cairo, Jedda, Moscow, Kuwait, Tehran, Tel Aviv, Washington, Paris, to the Political Residency in Bahrain, to UK Delegation Paris and UK Mission New York.

I have the honour to be
Sir
Your obedient Servant

H. G. Balfour



NEQ 1/2

CONFIDENTIAL

Near Eastern Department
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London S.W.1

26

22 July 1971

His Excellency
Mr H G Balfour Paul CMG
Baghdad

IRAQI BA'ATHISM. DOES IT WORK? DOES IT MATTER?

25

1. Very many thanks for your fascinating despatch on this subject. I only wish that I was better qualified to comment on it. Tony Parsons and Stephen Egerton are both on leave. But I shall seek their views when they return. Meanwhile, I look forward to seeing the observations promised in paragraph 15.

2. There is enormous ignorance in this country about the fundamentals of the Ba'athist philosophy, as originally expounded by Aflaq, and as put into action in (a) Syria and (b) Iraq. So I hope that many will be enlightened by reading printed copies of your despatch. We have given it Commonwealth "Q" as well as General distribution.

pa 8 27

R M Evans

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FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

DIPLOMATIC REPORT No. 332/71

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IRAQ

17 June, 1971

IRAQI BA'ATHISM. DOES IT WORK? DOES IT MATTER?

*Her Majesty's Ambassador at Baghdad to the
Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs*

SUMMARY

What are the professions of this unlovable régime? Do they work in practice? Does it matter, either way, to us? (Paragraph 1.)

2. Summary of the beliefs of the founder of Ba'athism. The inseparable Trinity and the people's Eternal Mission. Arab resurrection impossible without revolution. Rejection of Nasser's methods. Recognition of the dangers of world Communism. (Paragraphs 2-4.)

3. Aflaq's programme of action. Like his principles, unobjectionable if scarcely to our taste. (Paragraph 5.)

4. The Iraqi Ba'ath claims to revere his principles and is zealously pursuing his programme locally. It doesn't work all that badly. (Paragraphs 6-7.)

5. Why more thorns than roses? The two standard explanations: that the Iraqi Ba'ath are just thugs and Iraq just ungovernable by democratic process. The second truer than the first. (Paragraphs 8-9.)

6. Why Iraq is difficult to govern nicely. The Sunni minority's established technique of governing it by intimidation. (Paragraph 10.)

7. But the Ba'ath leaders are not thugs pure and simple. Their Ba'athism is not just eye-wash. And their main organised opponents have always been not the bourgeoisie but the Communists. On present course a Communist take-over less likely than the forced conversion of a failing Ba'athist régime into a Soviet puppet. (Paragraphs 11-14.)

8. Unlovable as they are, our interests would paradoxically be served by propping them up. The complexities of the Middle East appear to preclude this. But we should recognise the consequences. (Paragraphs 15-16.)

(Confidential)

Sir,

Baghdad,

17 June, 1971.

Like observers elsewhere I find the Iraqi Ba'athist régime, in its internal as well as in its external behaviour, in many ways repellent. But the man on the spot who has to live with it cannot just stand back and be repelled. He must

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try to understand it, to identify what it is that impels it headlong down such loveless paths. The object of this despatch is to examine the régime's ideological professions, the extent to which these professions supply its motive force and the implications of this (if any) for our own policy-making. What in fact is Iraqi Ba'athism? Does it work? Does it matter?

2. All Ba'athists, even the Syrian ones who have thrown him out, still admit the 60-year-old, chain-smoking, French-trained, Damascene "Christian" ideologue, Michel Aflaq, as their "onlie begetter". His philosophy, though better documented than Nasser's or any other version of Arab Socialism, has attracted little study, being dismissed as a sickly child fathered on the Arab Awakening by the joint efforts of coffee-house Marxism and German Romanticism, and left loosely swaddled in rags from the Sermon on the Mount.

3. To do it justice Aflaq's philosophy, though not profound, has a certain logical coherence as well as a genuine emotional appeal. Starting from the premise that Arab society had been reduced to impotence by centuries of Ottoman/European domination and fragmentation, he defines the mission of the Arabs as the recovery of their long-lost dignity and the regeneration of their national genius. The Arab body politic cannot come alive again (*Ba'ath* means Resurrection) unless its *dissecta membra* are reassembled. The Arabs must unite: they cannot unite unless they are free: they cannot be free if they are exploited by outsiders or by each other: they cannot be Socialist in penny-packets. Unity, freedom and Socialism—the three members of the Ba'ath Trinity—are strictly interdependent: a dogma having, for Aflaq, mystical as well as practical validity. Bravely believing in the capacity of Arabs to love one another, his gospel entailed their moral as well as their material regeneration. But this process could not be set in motion save by the traumatic surgery of revolution—in the sense not just of a single political *bouleversement* but of a continuing state of mind. Success depended on the faith of the people in their eternal mission. The impetus must therefore come from below, from a natural flowering of the popular will: it could not be imposed from above like Nasserism, whose methods Aflaq deplored—for whereas Aflaq invented a philosophy and sought power, Nasser seized power and invented a philosophy.

4. Imperialist Europe, though still the main enemy, he admired; but since its great qualities were corrupted by self-interest, it was to the "Socialist" camp that Aflaq, earlier than other Arabs, turned for guidance. Yet he explicitly recognised in Soviet Communism a new imperialist danger to the Arabs. Indeed for all his inspirational rhetoric he was no mere mystic; and he insisted that Arab Socialism, being quintessentially national and pragmatist, was a clean, different thing from Communism with its presumptuous claim to universality and scientific truth, its primitive obsession with class war. Moreover, he recognised, as a non-Moslem, the need to accommodate Islam in his philosophy as a valid, indeed seminal, feature of the Arab genius. And he supervised, as early as 1947, the translation of his beliefs into a party constitution and programme.

5. This committed the party to the promotion of a single Arab homeland with representative constitutional government, dedicated to the removal of all foreign influence; State ownership of large-scale industries and utilities and State supervision of commerce (to prevent exploitation); modest private enterprise and the sanctity of private property; the redistribution of land into equitable private holdings; planned industrialisation; labour reform and worker participation; and ("within the limits of Arab Nationalist ideology") all the familiar freedoms.

6. What have his Iraqi disciples done with all this? The tablets of the law brought down by Aflaq from Montmartre are still ostensibly revered. His basic slogans—"Unity, Liberty, Socialism", "One Arab people with an Eternal Mission"—continued to be proclaimed from the tops of houses and daubed on their walls. The constitution of the party remains unchanged. Socialism is still pursued by populist (if not exactly popular) revolution—for gradualism is self-defeating and *le bien* (so to speak) *est l'ennemi du mieux*. Government is of the people and for the people, if still by only some of the people. The International Party Command is as inter-Arab as the Iraqi Ba'ath can make it; and Aflaq (though at present estranged, ostensibly over tactics towards Palestine) is still its Secretary-General.

7. Moreover the 1947 programme, as far (they would claim) as lies within their local power, has been largely implemented. They would admit to exceptions. If government is not entirely representative that is because some citizens have not yet seen the light; and similarly if some freedoms are still restricted, was not the promising of them stated to be "within the limits of Arab Nationalist ideology"? Finally, if Ba'athist unity has not yet established itself over the whole Arab homeland, that is because the ambitions of deviating sectionals (*shu'ubiyin*) have not yet been frustrated by the people. But in Iraq the prescribed social, economic and agrarian restructuring is there to be seen, on the statute book if not entirely on the ground. (Everyone knows, so the Governor of Baghdad sadly remarked to me, that the Iraqi peasant will only work if whipped.) Foreign influences, though still seeking what they may devour, have been mightily curbed and foreign (oil) concessions have been shown, with due regard for pragmatism, the writings on the wall. Industrial development pushes ahead. Planning is an industry in itself. Internal exploitation is ended. Peasant co-operatives pullulate. Education is advancing, upwards and sideways. The workers declare their happiness. Opposition movements, Communism perhaps excepted, have visibly evaporated. The millenium (so their apologia would conclude) is round the corner. Or almost.

8. So what is the matter? Why are there, to the eye of the beholder, more thorns than roses in the garden? There are two standard explanations. One is that the present régime is actually a gang of power-hungry thugs ruthlessly pursuing their personal or sectional interests under cover of pan-Arab idealism. (In one part of the Arab world, as I was recently reminded, a *ba'athi* means an evil spirit resurrected from the dead to haunt the living.) The other is that the Iraqis, both as an ethnological farrago and as individuals, are ungovernable by democratic process, whatever guise it might appear in.

9. Most observers would agree that both these explanations are at least partly true. Not all would agree with me that the second is truer than the first: even fewer that the first (in so far as it is true) is largely a consequence of the second. How do I justify this latter thesis?

10. What, first, is Iraq?—A congeries of mutually suspicious races, sects and interests, with no ancient sense of identity or common purpose, each section schooled by history to get what it can for itself—of security and advantage during the centuries of foreign domination, of power and power's fruits during a brief experience of self-rule. Since the '30s rival groups of small-town, minority Sunnites (the dominant caste) have jostled for position, using violence to obtain it and intimidation or if need be assassination to keep it—a technique which neither surprises nor hardly even offends the mass of their compatriots, whatever Fleet Street and the rest of the civilised world may feel about it.

11. The present régime is one such group from the urban, riverain, Sunni minority. (The Shi'ite majority, together with the Kurds and the Christian communities, scarcely figure in the corridors of power—though the Kurds, who are Sunnis and therefore desirable as confessional allies, have been more nearly pacified by this régime than by any of their predecessors.) Is that all the régime is? Is its adoption of Aflaq's misty idealism just so much eye-wash, just an ideological fancy dress, without which no régime anywhere can hold court?

12. I think not. Virtually all the régime's leading figures have long Ba'athist credentials which have carried them in and out of prison or exile over the years—and imprisonment in Iraq under any régime is no small price to pay for one's beliefs. The desire for power is seldom pure and never simple, but I believe the régime as a whole (however power may have corrupted it) does share Aflaq's simpler beliefs and Socialist aspirations and seeks power to pursue them. They may not be nice chaps (as Aflaq probably is); they may not have got far with Unity and Liberty; they may have aroused little genuine enthusiasm amongst the fractious community at large; their whirlwind Socialisation may not have brought or be likely to bring prosperity; they may have to rely (as Governments seem to have to do in Iraq) on a particularly unappetising horde of small-time opportunist narks to keep them where they are. But I do not believe they are simply power-hungry thugs themselves. And they are certainly pursuing Aflaq's Socialist/populist programme with zeal and against odds.

13. In the light of all the above my answer to the question "Does Iraqi Ba'athism work?" is not, for all the régime's faults, entirely negative. Within the borders of this democratically ungovernable country Aflaq's ideals or ideas are being promoted with some appearance of success. Since the question also means "Is Iraqi Ba'athism capable of survival and of thus providing the sort of stability denied to Iraq in the past and essential to planned development?" the answer in this respect too must be affirmative. And even in terms of economic health and growth, their efforts, if they would stop treating party membership as a qualification for office, are at least better co-ordinated and more respectable than those of previous revolutionary régimes—particularly in their determination to expand the agricultural infrastructure, diversify the economy and (a Herculean task) eradicate corruption. And it is difficult to deny that their oil policies are paying off.

14. None of this (except of course their oil policies) may matter much to us. But what is surely of importance is the following. Throughout their history, the principal force opposing the Ba'ath has not been the conservative bourgeoisie (long politically disorganised and apathetic) but the local Communists. More Ba'athist blood has been shed by Communists and more Communist blood by Ba'athists than by any other agencies. And if (internal) Communism is not the imminent threat now that it was in Qassem's day, it is largely the Ba'ath that we have to thank for it. Even today the only foreseeable organised alternative in Iraq to the present régime is a Communist one—though the more likely development (and doubtless the one preferred by the Soviet Union), if matters continue on their present course, is that the régime will remain Ba'athist and independent in appearance but a strangleheld puppet of the Kremlin in effect. To the extent that Iraq matters at all in European perspectives, these are hard facts that seem to me to deserve more attention than they get.

15. I realise only too well that the complexities of the Middle East leave us little room for manoeuvre in our broader dealings with Iraq. (It would doubtless require a mutation in our handling of the Shah, for instance, were we to risk being detected genuinely supporting the Iraqi Ba'ath—though it is not always clear

to me what it is that the Russians lose in Iran by reason of *their* policies towards Iraq and what we gain by *ours*.) I realise too that the anti-Western prejudice and suspicion to which "progressives" in Iraq, as elsewhere, feel obliged to give tongue, afford us, when added to other unattractive features of this régime, little encouragement to apply any of our diminished resources to underwriting this régime and pulling it back Westwards. But let us anyway not blind ourselves to the consequences of its further alienation, its accelerating slither towards Moscow (on which I shall shortly be submitting some observations to Near Eastern Department) or its overthrow.

16. In short, Iraqi Ba'athism does not work likeably and it is difficult to wish it success. Paradoxically our interests would be served by helping it to work better. Nothing much could be done by us to promote this end (supposing it was agreed to be desirable) within the constraints currently inseparable from our Middle East priorities. But we should recognise the consequences.

17. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Resident Representatives in Amman, Beirut, Cairo, Jedda, Kuwait, Tehran, Tel Aviv, Washington, Paris, Moscow, to the Political Residency in Bahrain, to United Kingdom Delegation Paris and United Kingdom Mission New York.

I have, etc.,

H. G. BALFOUR PAUL.

RESTRICTED



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BRITISH EMBASSY
BAGHDAD

19 July 1971



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Miss Beckett to
K. 26/7
OK

Dear Veronica,

THE JULY CELEBRATIONS AND PRESIDENT BAKR'S SPEECH

1. You may not have been quite sure of the significance of the references in our telegrams last week to the "July Celebrations".

2. In short, the Iraqis now celebrate 14 July (the anniversary of the 1958 revolution which overthrew the monarchy) and 17 July (the anniversary of the coup which brought the Ba'ath Party to power in 1968) as national holidays; and since it is natural to take the two days in between off as well, this becomes the main jamboree for the summer. The celebrations are used as an occasion for mass demonstrations, a policy speech by the President, an army parade, the announcement of annual promotions and postings in the Armed Forces and various other assorted junketings.

3. I will not bore you with a description of most of these events. Apart from the Army Parade, they are usually more or less chaotic and wearing on the nerves of these senior diplomats who have not managed to escape the heat of Baghdad by this time. But I ought to mention President Bakr's television speech made on the evening of Saturday, 17 July.

4. Although this was long and rambling, and was read dead-pan by the Struggler-Leader looking much like Groucho Marx in General's uniform, certain themes did stand out. These I summarise in the enclosure below.

5. There is not anything very unpredictable in all this. It would have been surprising if we had got away scot-free in the passages on plotting, in view of the events of the last fortnight. I am surprised that the Gulf theme was not given greater prominence. As for the National Assembly it remains to be seen whether "the next few days" will in fact see its conception: there have already been two false labours earlier this year, and the regime does not seem to be noticeably more pregnant with democracy than it was then.

Yours ever,
Christopher
A C D S MacRae

Miss V E Beckett
Near Eastern Department
F C O

ENC: 1

cc. Chanceries Amman, Kuwait, Beirut
Tehran



SUMMARY

1. Plots: There was a good deal both at the beginning and end of the speech about the Revolution's efforts at "striking at the cells of espionage, treason and sabotage, which, for tens of years, nestled throughout the country and gnawed at its body..... Without hesitation or fear, the Revolution struck at a large section of the espionage and sabotage rings of the American, British and Zionist imperialist forces. It has been, and still is, courageously facing up to all the consequences and hazards emanating from that courageous policy..... Notwithstanding the ferocity of these plots and the participation in them of numerous quarters with widespread experiences laid at their disposal by the American and British imperialistic intelligence, the Revolution secured a remarkable success in unmasking and crushing them".
2. The Gulf: "Iraq has proclaimed from the beginning her decisive rejection of all forms of imperialist presence in the Arab Gulf and resolutely demanded a complete withdrawal of British colonial rule in order for the Arab people there to decide their destinies by themselves. Iraq has denounced the covetous designs which are still harboured by the ruling quarters in Iran. The Revolution has called upon the Arab countries and masses to adopt a definite and resolute attitude vis-a-vis these designs in order to prevent in time another disaster like that of Palestine in this dear and vital part of the Arab homeland".
3. Palestine: "Throughout the past three years your Revolution has faithfully and courageously shouldered its nationalist responsibilities. The Iraqi Armed Forces had been the back-bone of the Eastern Front..... and a strong prop of the Palestinian resistance..... our stand on the question of Zionist and imperialist aggression was clear-cut and decisive from the very beginning..... we have not been war-mongers when we rejected the so-called peaceful settlements".
4. National Assembly: "The Revolution, having entered upon a new stage of its life, consolidated its authority and succeeded in accomplishing a great many urgent assignments, will now address itself to the task of ensuring new, wider principles for democratic practices enabling every senior citizen to place the sum of his thought and activity at the service of national duties. Within the next few days, the National Assembly will be

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fully constituted to assume legislative powers and control over the executive branch in accordance with the promulgated law".

5. Oil: "The Revolution has faced two principle tasks simultaneously: first curbing the foreign monopolies....and secondly increasing production as well as revenues from exploited fields (i.e. I P C concessions) and wresting our rights which had been usurped by the monopolies for a long time..... We have wrested the largest possible amount of our rights, achieving considerable increase in production, especially in our southern fields, together with a big increase in our oil prices..... We consider these achievements as only steps along the path of the wresting the rest of our usurped rights which we are sure to regain with the help of the Almighty".

The rise and decline of the Baath

by
Salaheddin Bitar

'The Baath is more than a party. It is a state of mind, an atmosphere, a faith, a doctrine, a culture, a civilisation with its own intrinsic worth.'

This two-part article explains the origins, motivations and degeneration of the Baath, the Arabs' 'escape route' from a refusal on one hand to live in an out-of-date system of ideas, and on the other, a refusal to give up their heritage of tradition.

PART ONE The Ideology of Arab Nationalism

MUCH HAS BEEN SAID during recent years — and is still being said — about the Baath, that movement of Arab Renaissance centred on a vigorous and invigorating Arabism; a movement which had the merit, on the one hand, of revealing those deep-rooted truths of the Arab soul and evoking the creative concept of nationalism and, on the other hand, of being the mobilising force of the masses and, above all, of the intelligentsia in the search for a revival.

Indeed, many Arab and foreign students prepare their theses on the Baath; and qualified journalists come to the source of the movement to obtain their information and to study the evolution of the party, both in terms of ideology and in practice and organisation. This reflects the special status held by the Baath party among the political parties of the Arab world.

But, in reality, the Baath is not a party like the others; it is not a conventional party, for instance, giving expression in one or other Arab country of a particular aspiration of a particular national or social liberation movement; not a traditional movement invoking with nostalgia the grandeur and splendour of the past; nor yet a movement which, in the name of scientific socialism and of revolutionary internationalism, disregards national origins and objects to the specific and intrinsic nature of any revolution.

Fundamentally the Baath is more than a party. It is a state of mind, an

atmosphere, a faith, a doctrine, a culture, a civilisation with its own intrinsic worth.

Arabism is at the centre of the Baathist doctrine and is the core of its doctrine of unshakable faith in the creative genius of a nation with a glorious and noble past which, although buried beneath the ruins of centuries of decadence, remains alive because it is incapable of dying. It is the awakening of instinct, of intelligence and of consciousness, reflecting a desire for one's own recognition, for affirmation in the eyes of others, and for the recovery by the Arabs of their national existence in the world of greedy, aggressive and imperialistic nationalism.

Revolutionary project

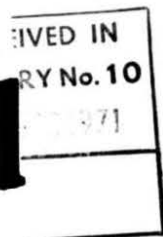
Arabism converted at this stage into a liberating and modernising Arab nationalism, in the effort of the Arabs to set up their own nation among the nations of the world and to reconstruct it on modern lines, so as to be able to rediscover their creative genius and to forge their destiny freely by bringing to a successful conclusion their great revolutionary project. For ideals recaptured by modern Arabism can only be part of present reality by revolutionary vision and action. That is why the question of the Arab revolution, which the Baath was determined to embody, takes on such a special importance today.

All Arabs are aware that they suffer from acute alienation and depersonalisation. This is obviously due to the nature first of Ottoman, then of European and today of Zionist imperialism. But one feels that this state of affairs

is becoming firmly established because of what I will call ideological 'congestion'. Why is this so?

It is not difficult to establish that the Arabs are living through a crisis brought about by a dual refusal; on one hand, a refusal to continue to live under a system of out-of-date ideas and traditions because they desire modernisation and to share in the progress towards a better world; and on the other a refusal to cut themselves away from the past which they cannot help cherishing because it was their pride, their honour and even their refuge during the years of misfortune. Between a past from which they cannot cut themselves free, because it is what they cling to as their own property, and a present for which they envy others without being able to adapt themselves to it, they live like exiles within and from without themselves never ceasing to seek their way. Now this way has been shown and partly embarked upon by the Arab Renaissance — which is what Baath means.

By reminding Arabs of their specific virtues, by giving them faith in their originality and by preserving their identity, Arabism as conceived by the Baath is revealed as an effective guide along the road of a revolution necessitating profound internal changes in order to shape the future. Therefore, the revolution being no longer a severance of traditions and values which live within us, but rather a renewal, a regeneration and a resurrection of these values and traditions, succeeds in mobilising the Arab masses in such a way that they realise it is their own



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revolution.

Naturally, any deep internal transformation involves amputation — the death of something within us. Certain obsolete traditions must perish to enable healing to succeed, and one accepts with joy and fervour the surgical operation, knowing that what is lost in tradition is gained in modernity but without loss of originality.

Is this what is called reformism? If so, there is risk of a confusion of terms. No one disputes the necessity of revolution, but its specific character concerns us here. In the Baathist system, the Arab revolution is not only a social, economic and even national revolution, but a total revolution; or, to employ a modern term, a 'cultural' revolution, in which the first aim is to restore Arab unity and personality.

Arab nationalism stems from this revolution. As the Arabs are alienated as a nation, their principal objective is to recover their national identity. But at present they are a divided people, broken into countries and torn apart as a nation. From this comes the specific character of Arab liberation; it includes unity and the belief that Arab destiny is essentially unitary. The Arabs are living in a *sui generis* crisis, the crisis of unity. No solution is valid unless it opens the way to unity. Any other solution is nothing but an aberration.

Unity — the central theme

I have no intention of relating the history of the Baath in this article but simply to give an outline of the vicissitudes which marked its rise, the turning-points in its progress and the deficiencies that distorted its mission. Therefore I will speak first of all of the birth of the idea of the Baath, next of the formation of the political party, then of the union with Nasserism and, finally, of the conquest of power by the Baathists.

In order to understand the birth of the Baath, it is important to place it in the geo-political context of the Arab world at that time to describe the environment in which it took shape, and to emphasise the train of thought which animated its founders.

Towards the end of the first world war, all the Arab countries were on the side of the allies who had promised independence and national unity to the Arab countries of the Middle East which formed part of the Ottoman Empire. But before very long, the Arabs were vociferously complaining of betrayal when France and Britain



Salaheddin Bitar. Former Prime Minister of Syria and co-founder of the Baath movement.

undertook their plan, a threefold imperialist plan: colonial occupation, dismemberment, and the creation of a national home for the Jews.

The reaction to this plan was illustrated by various revolts and struggles for independence and unity. The role of Syria in the Arab national movements was crucial. Syria had always been the cradle of Arabism, at the cross-roads of the resistance movements of the Arab countries, the starting-point of national ideas, it is not for nothing that Damascus was called the 'throbbing heart of Arabism'. That is why so many Arab leaders, forced to exile themselves from this or that Mashreq or Maghreb country, headed for Damascus and settled there. Syria had always affirmed her Arab vocation. People went there not to find a refuge but rather a rearguard base.

They were not received as exiles or simply brothers, but as militants who had established their head-quarters in the city in order to sustain their cause and share it with others. Disciples, strugglers and even combatants ready to give battle anywhere were recruited.

In Syria they lived as Arabs but Syria was not and could not be considered as the final and permanent fatherland. Every struggle in the Arab countries had profound repercussions in Syria which considered it as her own.

It was therefore not surprising that most of the movements of Arab nationalism sprang from Syria, and so it was that the Baath rose in the geo-political context of the thirties and took root in modern history.

Traditional background

Michel Aflaq and I came from the traditional *milieu* of Damascus, a *milieu* which strongly maintained time-honoured traditions, which were permeated with certain values of Arab chivalry but which nevertheless did not lack spontaneous revolutionary vitality. We were not traditionalists or conservatives. An inborn sense of criticism, a deep difference of opinion about contemporary life, a critical attitude to modes of thought and action prevented this. From childhood we were rebels; not, like some of the others, cynics or

nihilists — that is to say individualists — but rather revolutionaries

We came from the people, to whom we were deeply attached: we shared their misfortunes, their hopes, their aspirations, but not their fatalism and their resignation. We were already thinking about the role we would have to play one day in the avant garde, for the revolutionary avant garde in Syria between 1924-30 was the student youth. Lycees were at that time the principal seat of popular agitation and the *bête-noire* of the mandatory power. From an early age we were in the battle.

Arab consciousness

It was in Paris, where we were studying at the Sorbonne between 1930-34, that we gave vent to our Arab consciousness. We were in permanent contact with other Arab students, especially from the Maghreb. This naturally led us to discuss the struggles for national liberation, but also freedom and socialism.

We returned to Syria about 1934 at a time when the country was seething with excitement. We were already armed with progressive social and even socialist but still essentially Arab ideas. This necessarily distinguished us from Syrian communists

who espoused internationalism although of a regional nature. Anti-Arab anti-national internationalism was, in our view, a sort of cosmopolitanism. Our indifference to, and then separation from, the traditional political movement represented by the National Bloc Party and our progress toward the creation of a modern revolutionary movement dates from that time.

New generation

Fortunately for us we were already in our secondary school. This was a great advantage as we were therefore in daily contact with the new generation which was to form the mass of the adherents and militants of our future movement.

The year 1939 may be considered as the actual, but not formal, year of the birth of the Baath. The spectre of the second world war was looming into sight and the Arab countries felt

that the hour of their emancipation was near.

Iraq at that time was freer than Syria. It was already a member of the League of Nations in which it strenuously came to the defence of Syria against the mandatory power. When the revolt of Rashid Ali Kailani took place in 1941 we put our ideas into action. A movement for Arab renaissance was growing, leaflets invited people to defend the Iraqi revolt, and a contingent from this movement — our own — left for Iraq.

Unfortunately the revolt was rapidly checked by the British forces who, shortly afterwards, together with the Free French forces, invaded Syria. From then our struggle went underground and we began preparations for the official birth of the party.

In 1946 the mood favoured the transformation of the movement — which was daily gaining in importance

Struggle forced underground by invasion of Syria

— into a party. The daily struggle had created militants who were only waiting to be trained and organised. They were students of Damascus University from different regions of Syria and also from Lebanon, Iraq, Jordan and Palestine, who had grown up in the atmosphere and spirit of unity and had successfully confronted the regionalist, internationalist parties and the reactionary regime of Syria.

The first constitutional congress of the Baath Party was held on April 6, 1946. More than a hundred members met to formulate the ideological bases and organic statutes of the movement. The party of *Al-Baath Al-Arabi* (Arab Renaissance or Resurrection) was born. The congress resolved the following main principles:

- 1) *The Baath is a national, revolutionary, popular and socialist party.*
- 2) *The Baath is an Arab party in*

intention, action and organisation. It struggles for Arab unity, freedom and socialism. It is one and indivisible. Only one leadership commands its organisation, formations in Arab countries being sections of one party and not autonomous organisations.

On the question of unity, the party does not recognise the division of the Arab fatherland into sovereign States. It condemns this dismemberment and assigns to the Arab people from the Gulf to the Atlantic the right of self-determination.

Living reality

Thus unity was and is the central point in the ideology of the Baath. It is not a mental concept but a living reality. It is not only felt by the Arab

intelligentsia; it dwells to such an extent in the hearts of the popular masses that it can be said to be the call to Arab unity alone that has rallied the masses around the party, which, indeed, is often called the unity party.

The great merit of the Baath has been to give unity a revolutionary character by putting it in place of the nostalgic and sentimental

concept that formerly prevailed. It will be recalled, moreover, that President Nasser was only able to galvanize the Arab people when he declared himself the leader of Arab nationalism and inserted in the Egyptian Constitution, at the instigation of the Baath, the article which stipulates: 'The Egyptian people form an integral part of the Arab nation' — an article which is found now in most of the constitutions of the Arab countries.

Confused concept

The conception of freedom, however, never ceased to be confusing and ambiguous. Sometimes it was tied up with the idea of national liberation, sometimes clearly defined in the sense of liberalism, but it was, in any case, cut-off from democracy and socialism.

The concept of socialism was a little less confused. It must be remembered

that from its birth the Baath was in political contradiction with the Syrian Communist party which stood for unconditional alignment with the Eastern bloc, whereas we were for non-alignment with either of the two world blocs and for an independent foreign policy.

Again, we were not for class warfare, not because we did not recognise the existence of classes and their conflicts but because we considered the term 'class' in developing countries had social significance different from that attributed to it by Marxism. The Baath also believed that it had discovered revolutionary Arab nationalism — and not class warfare — as the driving force behind the historic evolution of the Arab nation.

In struggling for liberation and national unity, revolutionary Arab nationalism necessarily involves an inherent socialism (which I called Arab socialism in articles written in 1965). It is the conjunction of Arabism (unity and identity), of democracy (mobilisation and organisation of the masses, maturity and egalitarianism) and of socialism (modernisation and technical advance).

'Scientific socialism' was not, for the party, an ideology, for the ideology of the Baath was Arabism. The Baath's concept of socialism did not form a category in itself, placed side by side with Arab nationalism but without bonds or links; rather they were integrated, since any social and socialist revolution could advance only within the framework of revival and national identity. We were not anti-Marxists but were non-communists, with a critical mind open to the use of Marxism for our ideological and national ends.

Into political action

In 1954 the Baath took on a new orientation. It entered, on an equal footing, into the daily politics of Syria. A *coup d'état* had put an end to the dictatorial regime of Colonel Shishakly. Under this regime — two years earlier — the Arab Socialist Party led by Akram Hourani, amalgamated with the Baath. From a party of systematic opposition it changed into a real political party and became one of the three principal forces in the country, with eighteen deputies out of 150 but supported by the progressive intelligentsia of the army.

Undoubtedly it successfully inaugurated a policy of national union on the interior plane and of independence on the exterior plane (struggle with

Egypt against the Baghdad Pact, rapprochement with Egypt going as far as union, overtures towards the socialist countries) but all this was to the detriment of the development of its organisation.

The fusion of the two parties was only on the surface and rendered the movement bicephalous, and there were deficiencies in the formation of its membership and in the elaboration of doctrine, deficiencies which were certainly the origin of future distortions.

The Baath was more often content to set forth general principles, formulate abstract ideas and take refuge in theoretical concepts. It did not see fit to construct a clear theory of action or to work to acquire a scientific method, either for analysing situations or for anticipating events.

In this way it evaded big concrete questions that it was soon to be faced with and which were to catch it off guard; such as Revolution, State, party, democracy and internal party democracy, pluralism or the one-party system, religion, agrarian reform, nationalisation of production, struggles on the local and Arab levels, and periods of transition. (It should be noted here that the Baath had no ideological review). And so the Baath was unable to be the melting-pot for unity of thought, the necessary basis for unity of strategy, action and organisation.

In its place it handed out to its members hollow phrases and noisy

slogans, and that is how revolutionary verbalism prevailed. All this was bound to have unfortunate repercussions on the organisation of the party and on its relations with the mass of the people. The members were not united in thought; and the leadership being divided — as was to be expected — there arose right and left-wing currents, factions and groups and verbal and personal quarrels.

Drift to Nasserism

Moreover, the members of the party, ideologically ill-equipped and politically uninformed, not even knowing how to speak the language of the people nor to reply to their questions, gradually cut themselves away from the masses. Already the masses had responded to President Abdel Nasser who emerged as the leader of Arab nationalism. And even the most brilliant among the party members were already making their ablutions for prayers at the new Arab mosque of Nasserism.

It was therefore not surprising to see the Baath during the following years enter into a period of degeneration.

In the July issue of Middle East International, Salaheddin Bitar describes the cause and effect of Syria's union with Egypt and how, later, 'the Baath was put to death'.

Arabic Translation and Technical Services Bureau

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July 30th, 1971

30

Today's Main News and Trends, Cont'd.**PAPER HERE LISTS NAMES OF MILITARY OFFICERS
ARRESTED IN IRAQ ON CHARGE OF ALLEGED COUP**

Iraq

Beirut's pro-UAR and anti-Iraq daily newspaper AL MOHARRER today continued its campaign against the Baath Party regime in Iraq by publishing a story on its front page insisting that its earlier story about the arrest of a number of Iraqi military officers, trade union leaders and intellectuals was correct and true. The paper last week reported that these men had been arrested on the charge of organizing a plot to overthrow the present regime in the country. It went further to say that the Iraqi Baathist rulers had linked this alleged plot with British intelligence. Hence, the deportation earlier this month of three British diplomats from the British embassy in Baghdad, it said.

The paper also claimed that the arrest of these people was ordered by Saddam Hussein Takriti, the Assistant Secretary General of the Iraqi Baath Party and Vice Chairman of the Revolution Command Council (whom the paper erroneously identifies as the Minister of Interior). The paper said today that the arrests were actually part of the internal power struggle among the Baath Party leaders, and claimed that some of the Baathists were also arrested.

The paper gave the list of 17 army officers out of 45 said to have been arrested. Among them was the Commander of the Iraqi Air Force, the paper said. (Pro-Baghdad papers here denied the arrest of the Iraqi Air Force Commander). The list given by AL MOHARRER today was as follows: Brig. Mohammed Ali Said, commander of the Second Division; Col. Fadhel Al Ani, Commander of Al Taji Camp; Col. Adnan Mohammed Nouri, Commander of the Special Forces; Capt. Riad Kaddour; Capt. Tarek Hassan, Deputy Commander of Al Taji Camp; First Lt. Ahmed Kamel Al Hadithi, intelligence officer at the Baghdad Garrison Command; Maj. Salim Shaker Imam; Capt. Karim Shaker Imam; Capt. Riad Nassif; First Lt. Khalaf Al Khafaji; First Lt. Abdel Asis Al Yasseri; Capt. Saleh Al Hamdani; Capt. Ali Obeidi; First Lt. Kazem Al Nameh; Capt. Sadek Al Karadi; Capt. Nizar Saki; First Lt. Karim Al Douri.

In addition, the paper listed the names of three leading members of the ruling Baath Party "who were also arrested." They are: Ahmed Taha Asous, member of the Baghdad Baath leadership; Samir Najm, member of the National (Iraqi) Leadership of the Party; and Naim Haddad, also member of the National Baath Command. The paper claimed that most of the detainees are placed at Al Nihaya Prison, "where they are being tortured."

Miss Becket o/r



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DESKBY 111300Z

TO IMMEDIATE BAGHDAD TELNO 960 OF 11 AUGUST.

1. UPI IS REPORTING THAT, ACCORDING TO THE PRO-EGYPTIAN LEBANESE NEWSPAPER QUOTE AL MOHARRER UNQUOTE, INFORMED IRAQI SOURCES ARE SAYING THAT SADDAM HUSSEIN TIKITI, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE RCC, HAS BEEN PLACED UNDER HOUSE ARREST AS A SCAPEGOAT FOR IRAQ'S EMBARRASSMENT OVER THE RECENT EVENTS IN SUDAN (SEE FINANCIAL TIMES AND GUARDIAN OF 11 AUGUST).

2. GRATEFUL FOR YOUR URGENT COMMENTS.

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32

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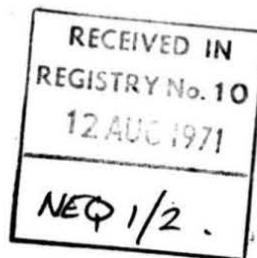
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TO IMMEDIATE FCO TELNO 917 OF 11/8.

DESKBY 111700Z



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31
YOUR TELEGRAM NO 960: SADDAM HUSSEIN AL-TIKRITI.

FOLLOWING FROM MACRAE: (AMBASSADOR IS ON TOUR
IN THE NORTH.)

WHILE THE IMPROBABLE HAS, OF COURSE, A HABIT OF HAPPENING
IN IRAQ, I AM DISTINCTLY SCEPTICAL ABOUT THIS STORY FOR SEVERAL
REASONS. THESE INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING:

(A) WERE IT TRUE, THERE WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY BY NOW BE
VISIBLE SIGNS OF TENSION, TROOPS IN STREETS, ETC. THERE AREN'T.
INDEED, THE ONLY EXTRA SOLDIERS IN TOWN THIS AFTERNOON ARE THE
FEW GALLANTLY DEFENDING A RASH OF NEW ZEBRA-CROSSINGS AGAINST
THE ONSLAUGHTS OF THE BAGHDADI DRIVERS.

(B) THOUGH MOHARRER HAS BEEN RUNNING THE "ARRESTS" STORY
HARD FOR SOME TWO WEEKS, IT HAS PROVED NOTABLY INACCURATE
(SEE THE AMBASSADOR'S LETTER TO EVANS 25/9 OF 6 AUGUST).

(C) MOREOVER, ALTHOUGH MOHARRER IS REPUTED STILL TO BE LARGELY
FUNDED BY THE UAR, THE EGYPTIANS HERE (WHO ARE USUALLY WELL-
INFORMED) ARE DISINCLINED TO BELIEVE THE STORY.

(D) THE SUPPOSED REASON FOR THE ARREST SEEMS UNLIKELY. IN FACT,
SADDAM IS RUMOURED TO HAVE BEEN AGAINST (UNDERLINED) INTERFERENCE
IN THE SUDAN - SO IF HEADS WERE TO ROLL ON THAT SCORE, THEY
SHOULD NOT INCLUDE HIS.

2. FROM HERE, THEREFORE, THIS LOOKS LIKE AN UNSUBSTANTIATED
BEIRUT RUMOUR. (WE UNDERSTAND, INCIDENTALLY, THAT VOICE OF
AMERICA CARRIED IT IN ARABIC LAST NIGHT.) BUT IF WE PICK UP
ANYTHING DURING THE COURSE OF THE EVENING WHICH CAUSES US TO
ALTER THIS VIEW, WE WILL LET YOU KNOW.

BALFOUR PAUL

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pubs

Bagdad leader under arrest

Beirut, August 10

Iraq's "strongman," Sidam Hussein Takriti, is reported to have been placed under house arrest because of the failure of his country's involvement in the Sudan coup.

A report in the pro-Egyptian Lebanese newspaper, "Al Moharrer," quoted "informed Iraqi sources" as saying that Takriti was being held at his Bagdad home under armed guard as a scapegoat for Iraq's embarrassment.

Takriti is deputy chairman of the ruling Revolution Command Council and is frequently referred to in Arab political circles as the strongman of the regime. "Al Moharrer" said it was Takriti who held secret contacts with the officers who carried out the anti-Numeiri coup. The contacts were conducted through Mohammed Salman, a Sudanese member of the Bagdad Ba'ath Party.

Arguments

Salman was killed in a private Iraqi plane which crashed in Saudi Arabia while carrying Iraqi officials to Khartum to congratulate the left-wing officers. It was on the same day that Numeiri was restored to power.

According to "Al Moharrer," heated arguments developed inside the command council after the failure of the anti-Numeiri coup and some members claimed they had not been consulted about Takriti's contacts.

Iraq was the only Government to recognise the short-lived pro-Communist regime.

Syria's Vice-president, Mr Mohammed Ayoubi and the Foreign Minister, Mr Abdel Halim Khaddam, flew to Moscow today for a two-day official visit. It is thought they will try to mediate between Russia and the Sudan. — UPL.

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11 AUG 1971

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Mr. Egerton

I have sent a

tel. to B'dad

asking for

confirmation

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FINANCIAL TIMES

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Cutting dated 12 AUG 1971.....19

HOUSE ARRESTS IN IRAQ DENIED

By Our Foreign Staff

THE IRAQI Embassy yesterday denied as "wild and unfounded" reports about "imaginary house arrests which were supposed to have been carried out in Baghdad recently." The denial was an apparent reference to yesterday's reports (including one in the Financial Times) that Mr. Saddam Hussein Tikriti, Vice-President of the Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council, had been placed under house arrest.

34

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Mr Genter
Mr Evans R.E.
Genter 12/8.

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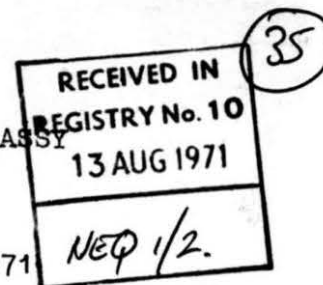
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3/19

BRITISH EMBASSY
BAGHDAD

5 August 1971



Miss V E Beckett
Near Eastern Department
FCO
London

NAF Dept 13/8

plk 12/8

Dear Veronica,

BOMB OUTRAGE IN LIBYAN EMBASSY

1. The diplomatic corps, avid as ever for local sensation, has had to content itself this week with accounts of a bomb outrage on the Libyan Embassy. The facts, as given to the Ambassador by the Libyan and Egyptian Ambassadors, appear to be the following.
2. At 8.00 am on 2 August a bomb of some kind was thrown into the Libyan Embassy causing minor damage to the wall and garden. The assailant took refuge in a nearby kindergarten (until last year often used by British Embassy children). When the police subsequently entered the school to hunt for him, he opened fire with a revolver, wounding one of the kindergarten children, killing a policeman and wounding another, before being seized and taken away. The Libyan Ambassador understands that the assailant was a member of the Iraqi Communist Party.
3. There has been no mention of the incident in the local press. There is more than one possible interpretation of this silence. Some say that it is standard practice for the authorities to suppress news of breaches of peace in order to give the impression that everything in the garden is lovely. Others put a less generous construction on it. The Egyptian Ambassador's comment was "The Iraqis have had a lot to hide this month".
4. It may also just be relevant that the incident occurred immediately after the mini-summit in Tripoli. Qaddafi's remarks about those who stayed away (Tripoli telegram No.863 to FCO) will not have passed unnoticed here.

12/1/89

*Yours ever,
C. MacRae*

A C D S MacRae

cc: Chanceries at Tripoli, Cairo,
Beirut, Khartoum

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PS (6 August)

Events have beaten me to the bag: Al-Thawra, organ of the Iraqi Ba'ath Party, today broke the official silence on this affair by publishing the following low-key report:

"An official source has made the following statement:-

About 9 a.m. on 2 August 1971 a person threw a hand grenade inside the building of the Libyan Embassy situated in Al Mansoor district.

The incident resulted in a slight damage to the building and to the death of a child called Haider Abdul Hamid al Abbasi.

The culprit was chased by detachments of the Security and Police and was arrested. His name is Faiq Jasim Jawad al Asfar, and investigations are proceeding to reveal the motives for this crime."

A C D S M
6 August 1971

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BRITISH EMBASSY

BAGHDAD

36

1/8

14 August



Miss V E Beckett
Near Eastern Department
FCO

Dear Veronica,

THAT SADDAM STORY

1. I am glad to say that nobody else we have met since then seems to disagree with the analysis of the rumour about Saddam contained in our telegram no 917. (32)

2. The only thing I would add is that I am sorry (and slightly surprised) that both the Financial Times and the Guardian seemed to swallow the story so unquestioningly. The Beirut press is, as every journalist who works on the ME well knows, always highly unreliable; and Moharrer (which Richard Johns had rashly quoted a week earlier) is quite as inaccurate as the rest. I am not sure whether Johns is based in Beirut or London: but it might be worth someone dropping a hint that he is not doing the FT's reputation for accuracy much good by being so credulous about Beirut rumours.

Yours ever,
Christopher.

A C D S MacRae

cc. P. Joy, Esq.,
Beirut.

① News Dept (Inf. Unit) Due
he spoke. Perhaps someone
cd speak to Mr Johns as
suggested.

15/10/9

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① Mr Geyser
② Oil Dept
17/10/9

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BRITISH EMBASSY

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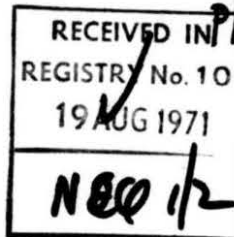
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2/9

13 August 1971

Miss V E Beckett
Near Eastern Department
FCO

Dear Veronica



*Mr Gove! Spot 19/8
NAJD 23/8
Rosa... 24/8
pm 15/8*

IRAQ AND THE PLO

1. A delegation from the Executive Committee of the PLO held talks with the Ba'ath Party here during 8-10 August. I enclose a copy of the statement published in the Baghdad Observer of 12 August.
2. As you will see the policy agreed for the future is identical to that announced after the visit of the PDFLP's visit in March (Christopher MacRae's letter of 27 March): *(17)*
 - a. rejection of all attempts at capitulation and settlement;
 - b. the need to create a "pan Arab progressive front" - though it is noteworthy that this is specifically attributed to the ABSP rather than to both, as was the case in the PDFLP statement; and, for good measure
 - c. the re-affirmation of the right to engage in armed struggle and mobilise the masses - presumably it was felt that at present this could no longer be taken as read.
3. The statement's affirmation that "the Resistance Movement delegation valued the revolutionary attitude assumed by Iraq against the hireling reactionary regime of Jordan" was echoed by a self-congratulatory editorial in the same paper which began "With the thick gloom that now envelopes the Palestine Resistance Movement, the only gleam of hope comes from the revolutionary regime of the ABSP in Iraq".
4. The principal Iraqi motives in holding these talks appear to have been an attempt to improve their even more than usually tarnished image, and to re-assert their position in the "revolutionary" leadership stakes: their previous effort in this line, President Bakr's message to all Arab leaders linking Palestine and the Gulf (our telegram no 779 of 5 July) having run into the sand along with their aeroplane following their involvement in the Sudanese coup. This would appear to be borne out by the announcement in the Baghdad Observer of 13 August that Abdul Khaleq al-Samarra'e, a member of the Ba'ath Regional and National Command, who had carried the Bakr message to Sana'a and Aden, had visited Algiers during 10-12 August, to attempt to gain support for the convention of a

- 1 -

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conference of Arab popular forces and progressive parties to discuss Palestine. Algeria was presumably chosen as the first *formal* recipient of this proposal in her capacity as a respectably revolutionary state not in the Tripartite Federation.

5. As you will see from the Comrade's statement enclosed, the Algerians only undertook to consider the convention of the proposed conference on a later date to be fixed in due time.

*Longer
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D I Lewty

Copied without enclosure to: Chancery, Chancery,
 Amman Tel Aviv

Copied with second enclosure to: Chancery,
 Algiers

- 2 -

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BOOST TO ARMED STRUGGLE

IRAQ BACKS RIGHT OF PALESTINIANS TO CONTINUE ARMED STRUGGLE UNTIL PALESTINE IS LIBERATED

ABSP PLO JOINT COMMUNIQUE CALLS FOR
CREATION OF PAN-ARAB PROGRESSIVE FRONT TO
COUNTER ZIONIST-IMPERIALIST-REACTIONARY CHALLENGES

The Arab Baath Socialist Party has reaffirmed its consistent support for the just struggle waged by the Palestine revolution for wresting the national rights of the people of Palestine in Jordan including at the top the right of engaging in armed struggle and mobilizing the masses for liberating all occupied Palestine territories.

The ABSP further stressed that the creation of a pan-Arab progressive front will be instrumental in resisting the Zionist-imperialist-reactionary assault on the Arab revolution in general and the Palestine revolution in particular.

The above was stated in a joint communique issued yesterday on the talks conducted by a Party team and a team of the Palestine Liberation Organisation. The PLO team valued the revolutionary measures taken by Iraq in closing her frontiers and air space with the hireling Jordanian regime, severing political and economic relations with it and urging the Arab League to unseat that reactionary regime—all being the demands set forth in the memorandum of the PLO's Executive Committee.

Following is the full text of the communique: "During the period from August 8 to 10, 1971, a delegation of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation visited Iraq under the chairmanship of Sd. Ahmed al-Marashli, member of the Executive Committee and comprising Abu Mazin, Abu Yaser and Abu Saleh as well as Abu Nidhal the PLO's representatives in Iraq. The PLO delegation held talks with the delegation of the Arab Baath Socialist Party headed by comrade Ali Ghannam, member of the Party's National Leadership and comprising comrade

Na'eem Haddad, member of the Party's Regional Leadership, Shaher al-Yousif, Director of the Palestine and Armed Struggle Office, Taha al-Samarraie Member of the Organisational Bureau at the National Leadership and Assad Ghothani, member of the Palestine and Armed Struggle Bureau.

"The talks were conducted in an atmosphere of frankness and objectivity, with the two sides reviewing the latest political developments in the Arab region and in the Jordanian-Palestinian arena in particular. The Party's team stressed that it stood for all basic issues and issues of destiny such as would provide the resistance movement with continuity and the power to confront all challenges and hazards that have recently cropped up against the resistance movement. Both delegations reckoned with the unity of the Palestine revolution as the bed-rock foundation for standing up to all splintering attempts aiming for torpedoing the resistance movement in its entirety. A note presented by the PLO delegation came up for a thorough debate and the two de-

legations were agreed on the necessity of satisfying all the demands contained therein. The Party delegation stressed the view that the Palestine revolution is the sole representative of the people of Palestine in the face of all attempts made to achieve a political settlement at the expense of the people of Palestine and their national cause such as are undertaken openly and with non-chalance by the reactionary regime of Jordan.

"The two delegations were agreed on resisting all formulas and forms seeking participation in the surrender solutions, starting with the Security Council's resolution No. 242 through to all covert sly plans such as the Rogers plan and any other similar plan that might appear in the future. The two delegations also stressed the necessity of pressing on with the Palestine armed popular struggle without interruption until all of the national soil of Palestine has been liberated.

"The two delegations stressed that the rise of a pan-Arab progressive front will be instrumental in resisting the Zionist-imperialist-reactionary assault designed to strike at the

pan-Arab revolution in general and liquidate the Palestine issue in particular.

"The Party delegation expressed itself strongly on the side of the just struggle waged by the Palestine revolution for wresting the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine in Jordan as embodied by the right to engage in armed struggle and mass and political mobilization for liberating all of the national soil of Palestine. The two delegations agreed that work for the creation of a Jordanian-Palestinian national front constituted an urgent and overriding necessity for satisfying the interests and national demands of the Jordanian-Palestine people through the creation of a national democratic regime in Jordan.

"The delegation of the resistance movement once again stressed outright rejection of all attempts for capitulation and settlement to be had at the expense of the Palestine issue. Further, it reiterated its rejection of any attempt to split the unity of the Palestine resistance movement and its detachments and made it clear that the revolution stood firmly against concluding any deal with the hireling regime of Jordan at the expense of the basic rights of the Palestine revolution to exist freely in Jordan and engage in armed struggle and mass and political mobilization in the Jordanian-Palestine arena.

"The Resistance Movement delegation valued the revolutionary attitude assumed by Iraq against the hireling reactionary regime of Jordan which took the form of firmly closing frontiers with that regime, severing political and economic relations with it and urging the Arab League to have it unseated—acts which all answer the demands set in the note of the Executive Committee.

"The delegation was accorded all responsiveness concerning its demands. The meetings were wound up in an atmosphere of genuine brotherhood and identity of views. Contacts and consultations are to be maintained constantly to keep abreast of all developments."

— INA

IRAQ TO PROTECT RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

Samarra'e discloses aim of his visit to Algiers

CALL FOR CONVENING A CONFERENCE OF PAN-ARAB POPULAR FORCES AND PROGRESSIVE PARTIES

Comrade Abdul Khaleq al-Samarra'e, member of the National and Regional leaderships of the Arab Baath Socialist Party, disclosed on leaving Algiers Airport yesterday morning that the convention of the Arab popular forces and progressive parties conference was the subject matter of his visit to Algeria.

Comrade Samarra'e, who paid a three-day visit to Algeria during which he held talks with Sd. Qaed Ahmed, responsible for the FLN party in Algeria on matters related to the Palestine revolution and the prominent developments in the Arab area, pointed out that the FLN party officials would consider the convention of the proposed conference on a later date to be fixed in due time.

Comrade Samarra'e, who was speaking to INA correspondent in Algiers, stressed that the protection of the Resistance Movement was closely connected with the firm struggle for the liquidation of all the factors which had given rise to the setback; this would imply:

1) Extensive endeavour for the realisation of a revolutionary unity of the resistance forces.

2) The achievement of a strategic alliance between the resistance forces and the Arab revolutionary forces in general.

3) The establishment of the strongest ties possible with all forces of liberation and progress in the world.

4) The realisation of the most extensive Arab mass mobilisation.

Comrade Samarra'e emphasised the necessity of struggle for the unleashing of all Arab potentialities and securing the freedom and unity of Arab revolutionary forces on the regional and national levels. He also stressed the necessity of exposing all the tendencies of compromise which reflected fatigue and exhaustion.

"The firm and resolute belief in the masses is a decisive evidence that the revolution is

completely free from the counter-revolutionary trends," Comrade Samarra'e said.

On the attempts aimed at isolating the resistance from the Arab Baath Socialist Party, Comrade Samarra'e said: "The renegade forces know for sure that to throttle the Resistance Movement is to sow the seeds of disruption and fracture among the forces of Arab revolution, especially between the Resistance Movement and our party which has placed the Palestine question in the axis of its struggle, policy and attitudes."

"Our party constitutes a basic force of the resistance forces and the attempt of isolating the commandos from our party is an attempt to strip them off a solid ally," he added. "All those who display keenness on the continuity of armed struggle are well aware that the enemies of the Arab Baath Socialist Party are also enemies of the commandos. Thus, the isolation attempts are quite exposed to the vision of every sincere struggler," Comrade Samarra'e added.

Referring to the indifference displayed by certain segments of the Arab masses to the recent developments in the Ar-

ab homeland, Comrade Samarra'e pointed out that this phenomenon is but an expression of the disappointment on the part of the masses at the policies which led their struggle to successive setbacks, and ultimately ended up in the current melancholic situation.

"The masses are only moved by the sound attitudes, rational policies and the truthful sentiments towards our issues of destiny," he stressed. "In fact, the masses would display indifference when they were confronted by heterogeneity between statements and actual conduct; when revolutionary action are turned into superficial attitudes and the revolutionary vision is thrust into compromises and bargains, the masses are naturally kept aloof," Comrade Samarra'e said.

"The masses are naturally not in a position to take action when their potentialities are paralysed, their will falsified and their struggle fought against when they are subjected to pseudo organisations incapable of movement or mobilisation, then they are kept in isolation from the real exercise of responsibility," he added.

"The masses feel desperate and disappointed when they come to know that the secondary contradictions have over-

whelmed the basic contradictions, when the egoist attitudes have superseded the objective attitudes, when the revolutionary forces are put on equal footing with their enemies. Masses feel indifferent when they are wanted to believe that peace and war imply the same thing," Comrade Samarra'e concluded.

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KUWAIT, AMMAN, CAIRO, WASHINGTON AND ANKARA.

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1-OCT 1971
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38

ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT ON BARZANI.

1. THE NEWS ALREADY CARRIED ON THE BBC OF AN ABORTIVE ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT ON MULLA MUSTAFA BARZANI IS CONFIRMED IN TODAY'S NEWSPAPERS. THESE CARRY THE TEXT OF A TELEGRAM FROM THE BA'ATH LEADERSHIP TO BARZANI CONDEMNING THE ATTEMPT AND DESCRIBING IT AS AIMED NOT ONLY AT HIM BUT AT "THE WHOLE MARCH 11 MANIFESTO".

2. AS TO THE FACTS, THE PAPERS SIMPLY QUOTE FROM "A TELEGRAM FROM BARZANI'S HEADQUARTERS" TO THE EFFECT THAT A GROUP OF CONSPIRATORS HAD VISITED BARZANI YESTERDAY (WHICH MUST MEAN 29 SEPTEMBER) CARRYING A LARGE NUMBER OF TIME-BOMBS AND HAND-GRENADES WHICH EXPLODED "AT THE PLACE OF INTERVIEW". BARZANI IS DECLARED UNHURT. BUT THREE PISH MERGA WERE KILLED AND A DOZEN WOUNDED, AND ALL THE CONSPIRATORS (NUMBERING OVER TEN) WERE KILLED, SOME BY THEIR OWN BOMBS.

3. THE PAPERS MAKE NO ATTEMPT TO IDENTIFY THE ASSAILANTS. RUMOURS SO FAR SUGGEST THREE ALTERNATIVES ON THIS POINT:

(A) DISSIDENT KURDS, SUPPORTING BARZANI'S PRESENT RIVAL SHAIKH OTHMAN, BUT SUCH AN ATTEMPT DOES NOT FIT SHAIKH OTHMAN'S STYLE, AND THE 24 HOURS DELAY IN RELEASING THE NEWS SEEMS TO POINT IN A DIFFERENT DIRECTION.

(B) EMISSARIES OF THE GOVERNMENT, IE SADDAM HUSSAIN. BUT IT LOOKS TOO CLUMSY FOR HIM, WITNESS THE NEATNESS OF HIS ELIMINATION OF TIKRITI. MOREOVER HE IS PUBLICALLY COMMITTED TO THE MARCH 11 SETTLEMENT WITH BARZANI.

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/(C) EMISSARIES

pls
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(C) EMISSARIES OF SADDAM'S OUSTED RIVAL AMMASH, WHO HAS FREQUENTLY BEEN REGARDED AS A HARD-LINER ON THE KURDS. HAD THE ATTEMPT SUCCEEDED, IT WOULD NO DOUBT HAVE BEEN A SMACK IN THE EYE FOR SADDAM.

4. BUT THE AFFAIR IS STILL PRETTY MUCH A MYSTERY AND I WOULD RECOMMEND NO COMMENT BY NEWS DEPARTMENT.

BALFOUR PAUL

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NORTH AMER. DEPT

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RESEARCH DEPT

(AMERICAN, AND

S.E. SECTIONS)

MOD INTERNAL

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39

cutting dated 30 SEP 1971 19

Reshuffle of key jobs under way in Iraq

By Our Own Correspondent

BEIRUT, Sept. 29.
A RESHUFFLE of key positions inside the Iraqi regime is under way. This has been indicated by Baghdad's official Al Thawra in an editorial to-day commenting on the dismissal last night of the Vice-President Lt-General Saleh Mahdi Ammash and their Foreign Minister Dr. Abdel Derim Shaikhaly. Both were also removed from the higher executive, the Revolutionary Command Council, and were assigned to diplomatic posts.

"It is natural for the revolution to reshuffle the leadership posts when this is necessary," the paper said. This was the first and only explanation so far for the sudden ousting of two members of the regime's inner circle. Their removal suggested a purge of the ruling Baath Party leadership may have taken place. Informed sources said Mr. Ammash and Dr. Shaikhaly had failed in new party elections in Baghdad. It is the second serious purge of the regime in nearly a year.

In fact, speculations here related the struggle to President Bakrs ill-health.

The ousting of the 54-year-old Mr. Ammash leaves his rival, 37-year-old Sidam Hussein Takriti, Vice-Chairman of the RCC and assistant secretary-general of the party, as heir apparent to the Presidency.

mb

30 SEP 1971

cutting dated ...



PRESIDENT BAKR

Britain in the Ba'athist dock

DAVID HIRST in Beirut, Wednesday, on Iraq's plots and power struggle

WITH the disgrace of General Salih Mahdi Ammash, one of the three main pillars of their regime, Iraq's ruling Ba'athists are going through another dangerous crisis. It will probably intensify the new bout of repression which is already under way.

In a decree signed by President Bakr, a second pillar of the regime, Ammash was dismissed from his post as Vice-President and member of the Revolutionary Command Council and assigned to the Foreign Ministry with rank of Ambassador. A lesser figure, Abdul Karim Shaikhly, Foreign Minister and member of the Revolutionary Command Council, has had a lesser fall — he is to become Iraqi Ambassador to the United Nations.

Whether this upheaval means the final emergence of the regime's third pillar, Sidam Hussein Takriti, Assistant Secretary General of the party, as the undisputed strongman of Iraq remains to be seen, but it certainly seems to strengthen his position. Sidam Hussein is the Salah Jadid of Iraq, but as befits the altogether more violent nature of Iraqi politics, he is an altogether tougher customer than the Syrian strongman whom President Asad finally ousted last year.

Like Jadid, he set out to build his power primarily on the civilian party apparatus and the security services. The latter have been elevated by the Ba'athists, both in theory and practice, into a principal instrument of government. Many are the quiet political killings the Ba'athist enemies lay at their door —

many the tortures they are said to have carried out in the aptly named "Palace of the End."

The army has always looked the main danger to Sidam Hussein's ambitions, as it was to Jadid's, and that is no doubt why he has apparently been busy infiltrating his men, his "Party Youth," via military training colleges, into the party. Hardan Takriti, the former Defence Minister who was assassinated in Kuwait early this year, was a focus of army loyalties — so is Ammash.

It is not clear whether the upheaval has anything to do with what the regime claims to have been the latest plot to overthrow it.

What is clear is that it will intensify the nervousness the alleged plot betrays — and the severity of the current campaign to terrorise all opposition. The expulsion of

the three British diplomats in early July has, as expected, turned out to be a prelude to a new round of public confessions by spies and agents. Major Fahim Jalal, an air force officer, declared on television two weeks ago that he had been recruited by British intelligence to participate in a plot to replace the Ba'athists with a regime similar to President Asad's in Syria.

This is the first time Britain has been in the dock — other networks uncovered by the Ba'athists were working for America, Israel, or Iran. Another officer is due on television shortly. It appears that, like Americans, the British succeeded in recruiting their men from a wide variety of political factions and that, as before, the Ba'athists therefore have an opportunity to deal with a wide range of possible enemies at one fell swoop.

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30 SEP 1971

cutting date

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IRAQ PURGE OF LEADERS UNDER WAY

By JOHN BULLOCH
in Beirut

A MAJOR reshuffle in the Iraq Government is under way, following the dismissal of the Vice-President, Gen. Salah Mahdi Ammash, and the Foreign Minister, Dr Abdel Karim Al-Shaikhaly.

Sidam Takriti, vice-president of the Revolution Command Council and the increasingly obvious strong man of the régime, appears to be consolidating his power.

An editorial yesterday in the official Baghdad newspaper *Al Thawra* said the changes being made should not be judged by the way "political alterations" were made in capitalist countries.

"In the revolutionary system, leaders stay on in power as long as their presence serves the interests of the revolution and the masses."

This threat must have been taken personally by a number of other members of Iraq's ruling Ba'ath party.

Ailing President

The key to the present moves may well be the failing health of President Hassan Al-Bakr, who was in hospital earlier this month "for a check" and has since appeared only infrequently in his office.

If he died, retired or was forced out, the Vice-President—until yesterday Gen. Ammash—would take over while a successor was elected.

The man in control would obviously have the best chance of ensuring that he was chosen as the new leader.

Sidam Takriti, until now content to wield power in the background, could not allow this to happen. In a further demonstration of his power he forced a vote in the ruling Revolution Command Council which dismissed Gen. Ammash.

Dr Shaikhaly had to go because he was Ammash's friend and spokesman.

Other heads are certain to roll as Takriti consolidates his position. Among them are likely to be those of a number of Army commanders.

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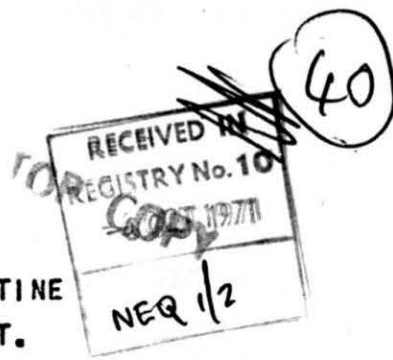
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TO PRIORITY FCO TELNO 1061 OF 6/10 REPEATED ROUTINE
TO ANKARA, TEHRAN, WASHINGTON, MOSCOW AND BEIRUT.



IRAQ INTERNAL.

1. THE DISMISSAL OF AMMASH AND THE ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION
OF BARZANI REMAIN TOP SUBJECTS OF SPECULATION AND GOSSIP.

2. AS TO AMMASH (NOW BELIEVED TO BE IN BEIRUT)
IT APPEARS THAT AGREEMENT FOR HIS APPOINTMENT AS AMBASSADOR
IN MOSCOW WAS APPLIED FOR BY SHAIKHLI BEFORE THEIR JOINT
DISMISSAL. THE SOVIET CHARGE HAS CONFIRMED THIS TO MEMBERS
OF THE CORPS.

3. THE KURDISH DAILY AL TA'AKHI PUBLISHED ON 3 OCTOBER
AN ACCOUNT OF THE ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION, LISTING NAMES
OF NINE PARTICIPANTS WHO HAD REPRESENTED THEMSELVES TO
BARZANI AS A RELIGIOUS DELEGATION FROM BAGHDAD. (SOME NAMES
ARE SHIA, SOME SUNNI.)

4. THE GOVERNMENT ARE PLAYING IT COOL. ITS NEWSPAPERS
PUBLISHED ON 3 OCTOBER A SHARP TELEGRAM FROM BARZANI TO
THE GOVERNMENT IMPLYING THAT, SINCE THE CONSPIRATORS WERE
ARABS SENT FROM BAGHDAD, IT WAS UP TO THE BAGHDAD AUTHORITIES
TO ESTABLISH THE GUILT OF THOSE RESPONSIBLE.

A COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY OF OSTENSIBLY REASONABLE COMPOSITION
WAS IN FACT APPOINTED ON 2 OCTOBER TO INVESTIGATE.

ALL FIVE KURDISH MINISTERS ARE SAID TO HAVE DISAPPEARED TO
THE NORTH, AND ACCORDING TO RUMOUR WILL NOT RETURN UNLESS
THE RESULTS OF THE INVESTIGATION ARE "SATISFACTORY".

5. IT SEEMS TO BE NOW GENERALLY BELIEVED THAT THE
GOVERNMENT WAS BEHIND THE ATTEMPT, THOUGH IT DOES NOT
FOLLOW THAT THE CONSPIRATORS (ASSUMING ANY OF THEM
SURVIVED LONG ENOUGH TO BE INTERROGATED) WILL HAVE KNOWN
ON WHOSE ULTIMATE AUTHORITY THEY UNDERTOOK THE MISSION,

/6. IT MUST

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6. IT MUST BE ASSUMED THAT THE AUTHORITIES WILL FIND A SCAPEGOAT. LIKELY CANDIDATES WOULD SEEM TO BE
- (A) AMMASH. NO COMMENT NECESSARY.
 - (B) THE IRANIANS (AGAINST WHOME A NEW HATE-CAMPAIGN WAS RECENTLY MOUNTED -SEE MY TELNO 53 TO TEHRAN.
 - (C) THE TURKS (WHO MIGHT PLAUSIBLY BE REPRESENTED AS HAVING A MOTIVE), BUT IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT THE IRAQIS WOULD WISH TO PICK A QUARREL.
 - (D) OURSELVES. A LONG EDITORIAL IN THE PARTY DAILY ON 4 OCTOBER EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT THE IMPERIALISTS WOULD BE FOUND TO HAVE BEEN RESPONSIBLE, AS A MEANS OF SABOTAGING IRAQ'S NATIONAL COMMUNITY, AND LINKED THE INCIDENT WITH THE RECENT "ESCALATION OF IMPERIALIST PLOTS", THE CONFESSIONS OF FAHIM JALAL, ETC.

7. THOUGH BARZANI HIMSELF, APART FROM OTHERS, WOULD CERTAINLY DISBELIEVE THE ATTRIBUTION TO OURSELVES OR THE IRANIANS, IF EITHER OF THE TWO IS SELECTED AS SCAPEGOAT, THERE ARE NO DOUBT WAYS IN WHICH HE COULD BE COMPELLED TO KEEP SILENT.

BALFOUR PAUL

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TO PRIORITY FCO TELNO 1061 OF 6/10 REPEATED ROUTINE

TO ANKARA, TEHRAN, WASHINGTON, MOSCOW AND BEIRUT.

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① I doubt whether they will. Let's wait & see. It would be a wild accusation by any standard. Ammash seems best bet.

Mr. Egey. If the Iraqis choose to blame us for the assassination attempt we should perhaps say something publicly (through news dept.). 1342

Mr. Smith } R.E. 6/10 H.N.K.
ADVANCE COPY
② This shows that things are on the move a bit in Iraq, to the extent that the regime may take some 1/2 baked external step in the near future to keep up its sang-froid.

6/x

BARZANI AS A RELIGIOUS DELEGATION FROM BAGHDAD. (SOME NAMES ARE SHIA, SOME SUNNI.)

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BALFOUR PAUL

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Copy to Paris and Moscow.
Sent 8/10

British Embassy

BAGHDAD

1 October 1971

1/3

R M Evans Esq
Near Eastern Department
FCO

R.E.

7/10

Mr Egeston
Miss Beckett
Mr Smith

I should like

Dear Richard,

DISMISSAL OF AMMASH AND SHAIKHLY

(11) NEQ 1/1

To C of
Mr Rundle (RD)

1. I offered some preliminary comments on the dismissal of Ammash and Shaikhly in my telegram No 1032. Amongst the Diplomatic Corps and indeed amongst Iraqi officials uncertainty continues to prevail. Quot homines tot sententiae. Today's news of the attempted assassination of Barzani, which may not be wholly unconnected (see my telegram No 1042) will add to the proliferation.

2. There are three popular theories, not in my view mutually exclusive:

(38)

- a. That the dismissal of Ammash is simply a further measure pushed-through personally by Saddam Hussain to remove the vestiges of military influence in high places and secure his own unchallenged progress to the top. The dismissal of the civilian Shaikhly was quite separate and was intended as a cover for the dismissal of the one remaining powerful General (other than Bakr himself). The pretext for Shaikhly's demotion is said to be his irregular private life - a somewhat implausible theory in view of Saddam's own. Anyway he might be thought to have just regularised it by opting at last for matrimony;
- b. that Ammash and Shaikhly were at odds with the rest of the RCC on major policy issues, such as the Kurdish problem, and on proposed constitutional developments, such as the formation of a National Front and the establishment of a National Assembly, to which Bakr and Saddam are committed; and this dissident pair were therefore expelled;
- c. that President Bakr is on the point of retirement and consequently Ammash, as the only Vice-President, had to be pushed out to make possible his unchallenged succession by Saddam or by someone acceptable to him. (Ten day's ago Milne of IPC was told on what seemed to him reliable authority

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that the retirement of the ailing President Bakr was to be announced within a week.) In point of fact it is by no means clear from the Interim Constitution of July 1970 that a (or the) Vice-President would automatically succeed to the throne, even temporarily. There is no explicit provision for the election of the President, who appears to hold office by virtue of his Chairmanship of the Revolutionary Command Council, of which Saddam, of course, is Vice-Chairman. Still, if the President is on the point of retirement, it would certainly be convenient to Saddam to have Vice-President Ammash out of the way.

3. The only official comment on the dismissals has been a curious editorial in the Party newspaper Al Thawra on 29 September. The article explains that whereas in "reactionary and liberal systems" a prominent individual's career depends on the importance of the posts he has previously held, things are quite different in a well organised revolutionary State. "Within the framework of an original revolutionary movement", it goes on to say, "it is natural for an individual to be a Minister one day and the Manager of a factory the next: or to represent the State in a direct position of power one day and to represent it outside the boundaries of the country the next". (Shades of Molotov, Malenkov and Bulganin.) The two comrades relieved of their previous functions "still enjoy in their Party the same positions of comradeship. The basic thing for an individual in the revolutionary movement is his place in that movement and not any other position". This manner of organising the leadership of the Party, carried out "in full participation with all the comrades covered by the decisions", is described as a new policy in the RCC.
4. The only member of the Diplomatic Corps who has insisted, in conversation with me, that Al Thawra's editorial provides the real clue has been the Soviet Charge - and he, if anyone here, should know how a well-organised one-party, revolutionary régime organises its leadership.
5. So far as this procedure does represent a change in technique, or is intended to give this impression to the public, the change would seem to me to lie in its ostensibly peaceable manner. This ouster is a bloodless one, they are perhaps saying: and there is no question of the Party breaking up internally. The day after the dismissals Baghdad papers all carried pictures of Saddam (as host), Ammash, Shaikhly, and other top people hilariously celebrating Shaikhly's wedding and appointment to the UN Delegation in the best restaurant in town. (Many people immediately assumed that the party and the photograph dated from the wedding announcement last week; but if so, why wasn't it published at the time?)

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6. Be that all as it may, the dismissals must certainly indicate new strains in the Party leadership. What this implies for us cannot be foreseen until the lights go on again and we see where everyone is standing or sitting. (The only stop-gap arrangement so far announced is that the Minister of Planning, Dr Rashid al-Rifa'ie, is acting as Minister of Foreign Affairs: but this can be no more than a temporary measure.) Shaikhly, though he has sometimes been helpful over small things, may be no great loss. But Ammash's departure is disquieting - even in terms of George Brown's comment as we emerged from a call on him in January 1970: "They are all bastards. But Ammash is an agreeable bastard".

Yours ever
HGP

H G Balfour Paul

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TRIPOLI, JEDDA, KUWAIT,
BAHRAIN(RES), KHARTOUM,
TEHRAN, WASHINGTON, NEW YORK

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W41

H. Rundle (Res. Dept)Dismissal of Ammash and Starkly

I attach a copy of a letter from Baghdad commenting on the possible reasons for the dismissals and their consequences.

2. I should be grateful for any comments you might have before I draft an acknowledgement.

8/10
NED

Mr. Smith (NED - W133)

1. These dismissals are further evidence both of strains within the Iraqi leadership and of its ability to shuffle around, demote or dismiss one or two of its members at a time without a major upheaval. (Last year both Ammash and General Hardan Abdul Ghaffar al Tikriti were relieved of Ministerial office and appointed Vice-Presidents of the Republic. Ammash survived in that position until this recent dismissal, whereas Hardan Tikriti was dismissed from ~~office~~ the Vice-Presidency in October 1970 and later assassinated in Kuwait.)

2. I think it likely that there is truth in Mr. Balfour Paul's theories (a) and (b). Saddam Hussein could be expected to push to its conclusion the process of reducing the influence of the military in the leadership - the President, who is largely a figurehead, apart. He ^(Saddam) is also thought to be committed to the March 1970 Kurdish settlement, which he engineered in the face of considerable opposition from some of his /colleagues

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? H. Rundle (Res. Dept)
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colleagues. (The recent attempt on Barzani's life will not have improved the atmosphere here of course.) I cannot judge whether or not proposed constitutional developments had anything to do with the dismissals.

3. I doubt if the style of government will change much as the result of these dismissals; Saddam Hussein was thought to be pretty much in control even before. What is perhaps significant is the evidence of discord among the Ba'athist leaders. These dismissals were carried out in a gentlemanly way but one cannot exclude the possibility of more violent upsets in the future.

des Rums

11/x/71

~~Mr. P. W.~~

Restricted
pass

P. W. (42)
on Iraq

Thanks

Kadhimi al-Khalaf-

PP.

13/10

2

13/5

I mentioned yesterday that he was due to see The Queen formally today. I now learn from P & C Dept that he asked for the audience to be postponed on the grounds that his recall had been delayed! P & C D. told him, on Palace instructions, that this c^d. not be arranged; so audience was cancelled.

2. P & C. Dept are now doubtful whether Khalaf will leave by the end of Oct. (Dauid is due to arrive

Very early in Nov). Colonel
Zubaidi, the MA (shia agent-
provocateur - according to London
Iraqi shia), who is thick as a
Najafi thief with Khalaf, is now
back in Baghdad. I bet that
Khalaf has told him to try &
get the President, or Minister of
Defence, or new Foreign Minister
Designate (whoever he is) to delay
David's departure & Khalaf's own
recall. We shall see. Rajin^{-13}/x

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London SW1

Telephone 01-

(43)

His Excellency
Mr H G Balfour Paul CMG
BAGHDAD

Your reference

Our reference NEQ 1/2

Date 14 October 1971

DISMISSALS OF AMMASH AND SHEIKHLY

1. In Richard Evans' ⁽⁴¹⁾absence on leave I am writing to thank you for your letter 1/3 of 1 October.
2. We have not yet seen anything specific to support any of the various theories which have been advanced for the dismissals, and firm information will no doubt be hard to obtain. The general consensus among Iraqi exiles here, for what it is worth, seems to be that Ammash's dismissal (the main development), was an overdue clearing-up operation organised by Saddam Hussein to remove the remaining senior military man and link with the past, barring of course Bakr himself. Sheikhly's departure is less easily explained, as Iraqis here see him as a protégé or creature of Saddam's (mahsub is the word used in conversation). I have heard it deduced with true Iraqi reasoning that Sheikhly's eclipse may therefore only be temporary. You will probably have seen by now a report which suggests that Sheikhly may return to Baghdad in a senior ministerial post after some time in New York. My own view is that once Iraqis at this level go, they're usually finished, because they have inevitably made many powerful enemies while in office! Sheikhly certainly did so.
3. Two further points. Nobody has yet suggested that the lack of success in Iraqi foreign policy recently could have been connected with Sheikhly's fall. Secondly, one possible consequence of Sheikhly's dismissal could be a further extension of Khalaf's tenure of office here. He suddenly asked for his Audience of The Queen, arranged for 13 October, to be postponed "because of a possible delay in his

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departure". He was told that no postponement was possible, and in the event the Audience was cancelled. We have no idea when he will finally pack up. So please continue to be on the look-out (telegraphing if necessary) for signs of Daud's departure for London.

S L Egerton
Near Eastern Department

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1. Enter with reference (C66)

2. Mr Parsons for info

British Embassy

BAGHDAD

16 October 1971

RECEIVED IN
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22 OCT 1971

NEQ 12

1/3

S L Egerton Esq
Near Eastern Department
FCO

Dear Stephen,

DISMISSALS OF AMMASH AND SHAIKHLY

1. My main reason in commenting by return bag to your letter NEQ 1/2 of 14 October relates to the second of the two points in your last paragraph.

2. I have, of course, been pursuing Da'oud at intervals about the date of his departure. On 11 October I asked him if we could fix a date for the reception in his honour which, in accordance with custom, I wanted to mount shortly before his departure. He said he would be able to give me an answer within 48 hours; they were just waiting for final news of the date of Khalaf's departure from London. I have heard no more from him, and there can be little doubt that that particular woodpile still has niggers in it.

3. As regards the rest of your letter very little further light has been thrown here on the reasons for the dismissals. My own estimate of Saddam is that his over-riding concern is with Party control and internal affairs: that he has little interest in foreign affairs (the Gulf perhaps excluded), and that there may be something in the first of the two points in your paragraph 3. Ammash, for instance, as his recent published works make evident, is much involved in the Palestine issue and has been an outspoken critic of Egyptian leadership. What his or Shaikhly's attitude to Iraq's involvement in the abortive Sudanese coup may have been I do not know; but Shaikhly, at least, evidently put his diplomatic communications at the disposal of the plotters. And, as reported elsewhere, there is some evidence that Saddam was opposed to Iraqi involvement. I am not suggesting, by citing such examples, that the unsuccess of Iraqi foreign policy was the cause of the dismissals, but it might have provided Saddam with an additional pretext. It is evident, of course, that Shaikhly got on badly with Khalaf; but I am not aware that he has acquired more enemies than the average Ba'ath minister.

4. It has now been publicly announced that Ammash is going to Moscow - an ironical posting perhaps, if those concerned read the passage in Lord George-Brown's "In my Way", in which he makes a transparent reference to Ammash as the one man standing-up to Soviet

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domination and wishes him luck in his efforts. I might add that I am told, on the authority of the Algerian ambassador, that the Soviet Embassy was delighted at Ammash's fall since they regarded him as the one man inclined, and able, to force through a final settlement with the IPC. Incidentally, though the Commission of Enquiry into the attempted assassination of Barzani has not yet surfaced with its conclusions, I do not subscribe to the local theory that responsibility will be pinned on Ammash. It is widely believed that the Ba'ath Party leadership, Saddam in particular, were behind it - though this is hardly likely to be the conclusion of the investigators! The finger is much more likely to be pointed at us and our "agents".

5. As to Shaikhly, we have not yet seen the report about his possible return to a ministerial post; but there are certainly rumours going around here that this may indeed happen. For what it is worth, it has been checked with the friendly part-owner of the restaurant concerned that the party in Shaikhly's honour, described in paragraph 5 of my letter of 1 October, did indeed take place after his dismissal, the restaurant having been ordered on the day concerned to clear itself for the purpose. Another straw in the wind is that the stately pleasure dome he had decreed for himself in the smart Mansour suburb is going ahead, and the fashionable architect in charge has told us that there is evidently no financial difficulty about completing it.

Yours ever
SP
H G Balfour Paul

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| - 1 NOV 1971 |
| NEQ 1/2 |



British Embassy

BAGHDAD

(45)

1/6

Miss V E Beckett
 Near Eastern Department
 F C O

Dear Veronica,

THE THOUGHTS OF CHAIRMAN X

1. Two statements by the Ba'ath leadership last weekend have caused some interest here. (You will be able to see them reported in full in the first batch of Baghdad Observers which Ian Lewty is about to send you.)

2. The first was publication of an interview between President Bakr and the Chief Editor of the Kuwaiti daily, Al Siyasa, on 16 October. The Struggling Leader's prose was at its most obscure. One can only discern dimly what he might have been driving at in passages such as: "The events of Sudan have taken place as though they were the looked for events for putting a stop to the Iraqi endeavours over the Gulf Islands/..... About the negative relations with Iran, President Bakr stressed that any attempt to get out of the negativity will be faced with actuality". However, the nub of the interview seemed to be the President's emphasis on the collective nature of the Ba'ath Party's leadership. Asked about the join exit of Ammash and Shaikhly from positions of power, he said: "What I hope is that people will know the kind of sincere relationships that bind us together and through which we practise authority"(!). As to the interest of foreign journalists in the personality of Saddam Hussein, President Bakr explained that "what he wanted is bringing about of a kind of sensitivity which we do not know here" and went on to stress that "the Ba'ath Party is the leader Party in Iraq and that the Regional Command Council is the highest leadership in the government as directed by the leader Party". What he seems to have been trying to say by this was that Saddam Hussein was not the only power in the land but merely one of an RCC democratically elected by a democratic Party. (That this is not so, is, of course, blindingly obvious: it is never publically announced who constitutes the RCC or the Regional or National Commands of the Ba'ath and foreign diplomats have to discover this from hints, inferences and chance disclosures in the press; nor does anyone know how often the RCC meets or what are their terms of reference vis à vis "Cabinet" Ministers - who in fact never meet collectively as a Cabinet.)

3. Next day, however, the purpose of President Bakr's statement became plain. It was merely a prologue for another major statement, to the same journalist, by Comrade Saddam Hussein - representing, of course, the collective view of a democratically-elected RCC

../4.

- 1 -

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22 October 1971
 Mr Egerton
 Arabian Dept - Mr Meis 2/11
 Mr Beggs
 Copy to Res Dept
 sent 2/11 Assessment Staff
 PUSD - Mr Wyatt (84)
 pub 29/10 (d)



4. The main points of interest in Saddam's remarks were as follows:

a. Islands

Iraq's stance over the 3 disputed Gulf Islands was shown as increasingly bellicose: The "covetous rulers of Iran" would be taken into account for "every millimetre of our land".

b. Iraqi relations with Gulf States

(i) Embassies in the Gulf region should not be used as centres for subversion aimed at toppling local governments (- a pretty rich sentiment, from an Iraqi leader). He added the rather curious argument that "before we were ruling the country there were Ba'athists in the Arab Gulf and that doesn't mean that these Ba'athis lay plans with our Ambassadors to topple the existing governments".

(ii) Iraq, he said (in answer to a question), would very shortly solve all problems relating to Kuwait, including that of boundaries, through an agreement between the two sisterly states, which would not "take metres into account".

c. Pattern of the Iraqi Leadership

Saddam defended the democratic methods of the Ba'ath Party leadership. These did not "give a chance to everyone differing in opinion to jump on a tank and attempt to change the government. This method has come to an end". (Indeed, it does seem to have done so; but simply because the Ba'ath have taken infinitely better precautions than their predecessors to protect themselves against counter-attack, notably by emasculating the Army.) As to the fact, Saddam continued, that some comrades had been relieved of the leadership in accordance with the procedures of self-criticism practised by the Party, they remained Party comrades and their absence from the leadership signified nothing; in fact, they might join it again, perhaps in better positions. (This suggests that the rumours, reported in the Ambassador's letter to Stephen Egerton 1/3 of 16 October, that Shaikhly may be restored to a Ministerial position may be well founded.)

d. Spies

Iraq had been full of spies since 1948. "The last hasty executions of the spies" (which "spies" is not at all clear, and might in the context mean either those executed in January 1970 or those in 1969), although they had been carried out in "a harmful haste", had been entirely legal and in accordance with demands of the masses. However, over-hasty executions might lead to the full extent of espionage nets remaining unknown, so "we are now being cautious as regards the last case over revealing the spies till we get more information. We are not in a hurry". (What this sinister

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remark portends is not at all clear to us. But since it was announced on 20 October that Fahim Jalal had been sentenced to death by the Revolutionary Court two days earlier, it might mean either that "the revelations" we had been promised about Colonel Khammas - see the Ambassador's letter to Stephen Egerton 25/9 of 30 September - are being delayed for some reason; or else that some new "British plot" is being concocted in time to embarrass us whenever the Iraqis wish to put in the dock over the Islands dispute. This could, for example, link us with the Barazani assassination attempt.)

e. Iraq and Palestine

Saddam made a not particularly convincing attempt to justify the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from the "Eastern Front". This looks like no more than routine counter-punching to recent charges against Iraq in Al Ahram.

5. Though (a) and (b) were clearly angled at a Gulf audience, (c) and (d) were of considerable domestic interest; and we in this Embassy do not find (d) particularly comforting.

*Yours ever,
Christopher MacRae.*

A C D S MacRae

c.c. Chanceries:

KUWAIT, TEHRAN, BAHRAIN RESIDENCY, BEIRUT, AMMAN, CAIRO

(46)

A. THE ARAB WORLD AND ISRAEL

Iraqi Ba'th Party National Action Charter

Baghdad home service in Arabic 17.00 GMT 15.11.71

Text of statement by President Baqr (broadcast live):

Honourable citizens, God's peace, mercy and blessings be with you. The Arab revolutionary movement, with its various groups and during its long march of struggle, has achieved a number of great victories. It has also been afflicted by dangerous setbacks and defeats. Through the several rich experiments which have characterized the various phases of struggle of this movement, a number of lessons can be learned. Foremost of these is the basic fact that among the foremost reasons for the ability of the Arab revolutionary movements to achieve victory has been the awareness of these movements of the role of joint action and alliance between their groups and that among the foremost reasons for the defeats and setbacks of these movements is the trend by the groups of these movements to rate the secondary contradictions among these groups above the basic contradiction existing between these groups on the one hand and imperialism, Zionism and reaction on the other.

The periods which were characterized by the intensification of the popular tide in all parts of the Arab homeland, the intensification of struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, and the increasing prestige of revolutionary and progressive ideas, slogans and applications were the periods in which the various nationalist and progressive forces were inclined to co-operate with one another according to certain formulas and frameworks. The periods which were characterized by the decline of the revolutionary tide, by currents of apostasy and its bleak ideas, and aggravation of imperialist, Zionist and reactionary dangers to the Arab revolution and the future of the Arab people and their progressive liberating gains were the periods which were characterized by acute, subjective struggle among the Arab nationalist and progressive groups.

Undoubtedly the inclination towards joint action and co-operation among the groups of the Arab nationalist and progressive movement was the natural product of the high political and ideological standards of these groups. Also the inclination by these groups to focus the secondary contradictions existing among them before deciding the battle with imperialism, Zionism and reaction was a manifestation of decline in these standards.

The 5th June defeat, which afflicted Arab struggle with a very serious setback, was a harbinger of a new phase which required, to begin with, an accurate scientific study of the experience of the preceding phase, a basic and courageous review of its mistakes and deviation, and decisive, honest revolutionary action to reach a new standard rejecting the reality of the defeat and transforming the setback into a springboard for victory.

The imperialist-Zionist onslaught on the Arab nation on 5th June 1967 intensified the contradiction between the Arab nation on the one hand and imperialism and Zionism on the other to the highest degree of acuteness - a matter which requires the Arab nation to make the widest mobilization of its struggle capabilities to encounter and repulse this onslaught and to achieve prominent progress in the struggle against the positions of imperialism and Zionism and their ally, reaction.

The operation of mobilization cannot be serious or effective unless it is oriented towards the Arab masses, whose role was paralyzed by the pre-defeat regimes and who were alienated from their crucial issues by repression and persecution in some cases and by misdirection in others. This is so because the masses are the only power which cannot be defeated and which is prepared to encounter the imperialist-Zionist onslaught firmly, strongly and continuously.

pc
22/11

Among the basic requirements of this phase is that the nationalist and progressive forces in all parts of the Arab homeland should seek means of co-operation one with another to achieve the most advanced and strongest possible forms of unity to secure the vanguard power needed to lead the masses in the battle and to serve as a natural and logical reply to the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary alliance which has reached advanced forms of compactness and perfection. This alliance cannot be confronted regardless of how great the capabilities or how strong the enthusiasm unless there is a counter-alliance representing all Arab anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist, anti-reactionary, progressive and liberation forces.

While the mobilization of the masses and the co-operation of the nationalist and progressive forces are two prerequisites to confront the onslaught of imperialism and Zionism and the reaction allied with them - which reaction appeared on the stage after the defeat trying to inherit the defeated regimes and to regain its prestige and positions after long years of contraction and turning inwards - there is also another basic condition to place the cause of Arab struggle on a level to enable it to avoid a new defeat and to set it on the way to victory. It is that the masses and their revolutionary institutions should occupy the positions of leadership and guidance, particularly since the dictatorial, bourgeois and feudal regimes have failed to stop the imperialist and Zionist aggression against the Arab nation and to achieve this nation's aims of liberation, unity and progress.

The bourgeois and dictatorial regimes which led the phase before the defeat proved their inability and failure by the defeat itself, and it is no longer logical or reasonable that these regimes should monopolize the leadership of Arab struggle because this struggle is passing through a very dangerous and delicate stage which requires stronger and bigger intellectual, mobilizational, political, economic and military capabilities.

Unity among the various groups of the Arab nationalist and progressive movement - unity dictated by the new phase, on both the regional and national levels - should be established on the basis of intensifying the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction; of enabling the masses to lead their battle; of providing all forms of revolutionary and democratic atmosphere for these masses; of liquidating all manifestations of persecution of the masses and their political, trade union and cultural institutions; of liquidating all forms of imperialist influence; and of closing the door for good to vicious attempts by the imperialist countries to exploit existing conditions in the Arab homeland in order to return to occupy new political and economic positions.

If any unity between the groups of the nationalist and progressive movement in any Arab country is to be serious and genuine, it should be bent on achieving unity among the Arab countries which are ready for unity. In addition to needing these conditions, genuine unity is guided towards the firm struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction. Unity formulas which appease imperialism, recognize the Zionist entity and expand ties with reaction are not unity but a framework for gathering the forces of apostasy to confront the nationalist and progressive forces and to implement imperialist and Zionist schemes, which are categorically rejected by the Arab people.

Foremost of the main principles for any alliance between the nationalist and progressive forces, whether on the regional or national levels, is the need to accredit popular armed struggle as a major method of struggle against the imperialist-Zionist enemy. This requires an honest and effective alliance with the Palestine Resistance.

Regardless of the difference in opinion of the nationalist and progressive forces about the Palestine Resistance groups, the Palestine Resistance remains a basic instrument of the struggle of our people against the imperialist-Zionist enemy and his local allies. Alliance with the Palestine Resistance and material and moral aid to it in its legitimate struggle is one of the basic conditions required by the new phase - the phase following the 5th June defeat. Therefore one of the basic tasks of any alliance established by nationalist and progressive forces is to denounce all tactics of manoeuvre

or isolating the Palestine Resistance to deprive it of arms with which to carry out its struggle and to pacify it according to imperialist, Zionist and reactionary schemes; to struggle firmly against such tactics; and to expose any attempt to liquidate the Palestine issue, whether by establishing an artificial statelet on part of the soil of Palestine or by overlooking the historical, political and juridical aspects of the Palestine question or portraying it as merely an issue of refugees deserving sympathy and help; and to resist these tactics with popular struggle.

The major aim of Arab struggle on the pan-Arab level is to liquidate the racist, aggressive Zionist structure and to enable the Palestine Arab people to exercise the right of self-determination over their liberated land.

Since 17th and 30th July 1968 the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party has been leading the revolutionary change in the Iraqi region. The change took place in very delicate and grave domestic, Arab and international circumstances. The revolutionary change came in international circumstances characterized by the intensification of the vicious onslaught launched by world imperialism led by the United States against the peoples of the world, particularly the Indochinese and Arab peoples and the other peoples struggling for freedom and progress in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The period in which the revolution was born was also distinguished by elements confronting that onslaught. The acute struggle against the aggressive imperialist camp was escalated, especially on the Indochinese front where the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia stood fast and inflicted a number of heavy defeats on the US imperialists and their international and local agents. The period was also distinguished by a serious negative phenomenon. Division in the ranks of the socialist camp was aggravated, and this division did heavy damage to the struggle against imperialism.

On the Arab level the revolution was born at the most serious stage of the Arab people's struggle - the stage of the 5th June defeat - which ended in the Zionist enemy's full occupation of the land of Palestine and of other Arab soil in the Syrian and Egyptian regions. Although the period was a serious military and political defeat, it led, on the other hand, to a wide Arab revolutionary upsurge characterized by increased strength of the Palestine Resistance and a tangible escalation in the struggle against imperialism and Zionism in most parts of the Arab homeland. The upsurge was also characterized by an escalated popular movement calling for fundamental change in all the political, economic, military, cultural and social conditions which led to the defeat.

The 17th July revolution is in one historical aspect a fruit of this movement. On the regional level, the 17th July revolution which was led by the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party broke out in the region's most delicate and serious circumstances. This revolution had to perform two historical tasks at the same time. The first task was to complete the aspects of the national revolution which began on 14th July 1958, to resume its march, to rectify the faults and deviations it had fallen into, and to eliminate the distortions that had hit it. The second task was to fulfil the missions of the new stage, the stage following the 5th June defeat.

In the statement it issued in June 1969, the Seventh Regional Congress of the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party defined the nature of this stage and described it as the stage to establish a unionist, revolutionary and democratic regime as a fundamental and advanced phase of the legal struggle of our people in Iraq and in the Arab homeland for the establishment of a united, socialist and democratic Arab society. In its historic statement the congress proclaimed the party's and the revolution command's understanding of the importance of co-operation between the progressive domestic (Arabic wataniyah) and national Arab and Kurdish forces in Iraq to achieve the tasks of this stage - great, multi-sided, delicate and hard tasks which attract the ferocious hostility of the imperialist and Zionist circles and of the various local and Arab reactionary and opportunist forces. These tasks therefore call for the unity of the struggling forces interested in these tasks on the regional and national levels.

The Socialist Arab Ba'th Party, which has led the revolutionary march for over three years, has a principled and strategic view of the question of alliance between the progressive domestic (Arabic: wataniyah) and national forces in Iraq and the Arab homeland. The revolution's tasks on the regional and national levels and the tasks of struggle against the imperialist-Zionist aggression and against its local reactionary agents require the unity of the efforts and capabilities of all the national and progressive forces within the framework of a joint frontal activity devised in each region by that region's special circumstances. On the basis of this principled and strategic view, the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party headed since the first day of the 17th July revolution towards preparing an atmosphere suitable for the establishment of a real and firm unity between all the progressive domestic and national forces by ensuring the objective circumstances required for it. On this difficult path, and despite the hard domestic, Arab and international circumstances, the revolution, led by the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party, has been able in the past three years to achieve the following tasks or to make long strides on the path towards their achievement.

(1) To deal a strong and daring blow at the groups of agents and spies who for long years have tampered with the country and exposed its sovereignty and the fate of our people and of their patriotic movement to the gravest dangers; and foil the imperialist and reactionary plots aimed at overthrowing the patriotic authority and restoring the imperialist and reactionary influence to the country.

(2) To participate with all the country's available resources in the national battle against the Zionist-imperialist enemy, in exposing the imperialist plots in the Arabian Gulf and exposing the ambitions of the agent and reactionary Iranian Government in the Gulf, and in placing these resources at the service of the battle to confront these ambitions.

(3) The revolution firmly confronted the imperialist plans and plots to control its oil and mineral resources, especially sulphur, and turned the slogan of national exploitation of oil and sulphur into a reality. So far, the larger part of the first stage for the national exploitation of oil in the Rumaylah oilfield has been implemented. Iraq will begin exporting its oil national at the beginning of next year. Work on the second stage has already begun. The production of sulphur nationally will also start at the beginning of next year. The revolution has also been able to wrest large parts of our usurped rights from the monopolist oil companies operating in the country. A large increase in royalties has been obtained on the way to seizing all our legal rights.

(4) On the agricultural question, revolutionary decisions have been issued, such as the abolition of the principle of compensation and of the right of feudalists to choose the free distribution of land to the peasants, and enactment of Agrarian Reform Law 117 of 1970. This law forms an important and wide-scale beginning for the introduction of an agricultural revolution to liberate peasants from the yoke of the feudal system and achieve a full economic and social renaissance in the countryside.

(5) Sincere work to provide a new and positive atmosphere for relations between progressive domestic and national forces. In its early days the revolution immediately released all political detainees and prisoners and reinstated them in their jobs. Recently the revolution issued legislation counting the period under dismissal for political reasons as a period of service for purposes of promotion and retirement.

(6) The issue of Labour Law 151 of 1970 and Retirement and Social Insurance Law 39 of 1971. These two laws have achieved important progressive gains for the working class and guaranteed it the freedom of unionist (Arabic: naqabi) work and all basic liberties. The retirement and insurance law has assured this class of a dignified life within the resources which can be provided by the state at present.

(7) The revolution, under the leadership of the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party and in co-operation with the Kurdish Democratic Party was able to realize the formula of a peaceful and democratic solution for the Kurdish issue as represented in the 11th March 1970 proclamation. Since the announcement of the declaration large and fundamental sections of the declaration have been fulfilled on the way to applying all its provisions, including the provision of autonomy for our Kurdish people within the framework of the Iraqi Republic.

(8) Strengthening of democratic relations between the masses and the revolutionary regime by making the popular organizations participate in the discussion and study of the various fundamental issues, by holding people's seminars and by spreading people's work campaigns in all parts of the country. These campaigns have achieved magnificent results represented in many major agricultural and service projects.

(9) Providing the legislative and political circumstances suitable for the establishment of democratic organizations in the country, such as the General Federation of Peasant's Societies, the General Federation of Workers Unions, the National Federation of Iraqi Students, the General Federation of Iraqi Women and dozens of other professional, trade, and social organizations, and also the legislative and political circumstances necessary for the establishment of the organizations of our Kurdish people in accordance with the provisions of the 11th March declaration. These include such organizations as the Federation of Kurdistan Youth, the Federation of Kurdistan Teachers, the Union of Kurdish Writers, the Federation of Kurdistan Students and other organizations.

(10) Preparing the largest five-year plan in the history of the country. Allocations in the plan amounted to approximately one thousand million dinars to achieve comprehensive development in agriculture, industry, communications, culture, services, health, education and all social institutions.

(11) The creation of an extensive economic renaissance as represented in the perfecting of the state's control of foreign and domestic trade, provision of basic commodities for the citizens, completion of and putting into operation a number of factories which had not been completed on schedule or were out of commission, the building of new factories, expansion of existing factories and increasing their production, development of agriculture, implementation of new projects, establishment of a number of co-operative, collective and state farms, application of the slogan "return to the countryside", and engaging educated people in the agricultural field.

(12) The accomplishment of extensive and important reforms in education, particularly in universities and higher education establishments, revision of the various curricula according to the principles of the national progressive revolution, encouragement of vocational education, linking educational plans with development plans, establishment of many schools throughout the country and establishment of a new university - Sulaymaniyah University.

(13) The completion of a number of cultural, medical, services and communications projects in the country. The past three years have seen unparalleled activity in the history of the country in the building and expansion of hospitals, the establishment of popular clinics, road-building, the improvement and extension of services for all citizens, and the establishment of various cultural utilities.

The Ba'th Party submits the National Action Charter to the masses and the national forces in this struggling country now that the revolution has completed the conditions required to embark on a new stage during which all the people's forces will be mobilized to confront the imperialist-Zionist plan and the reactionary current and to exercise popular democracy in a responsible way. Thus the Ba'th Party gives all national forces an opportunity to contribute to the entrenchment of the

revolutionary march, the fulfilment of the great aspirations of our people, and the conversion of this country into a vast field for action and production, a firm fortress of steadfastness, a true and living example of the maturity of revolutionary action in the Arab homeland, and a base of action for the Arab revolution.

The national forces in this country are heading for an historic opportunity dictated by objective conditions which will unite them in one rank and meet the conditions necessary to develop this revolution and the abundant capabilities in this country which are prepared to make sacrifices. These national forces have much to offer this proud people by responsibly contributing to the needs of this stage.

The great national role borne by this country requires that the country is placed on the road to serious front (Arabic: jabhawi) action. Exploitation of the wealth of this country and placing this country on the road of Arab unity and socialism demands the consolidation of domestic (Arabic: wataniyah) unity.

Therefore the proclamation of this charter comes as a true response to the full sense of historic responsibility and as full comprehension of its scope. The Ba'th Party command, as it submits this charter for discussion, hopes that all patriotic and progressive forces and elements will show a sincere preparedness to open a new, shining page in the history of their ambitious struggle for our domestic and national (Arabic: wataniyah wa qawmiyah) goals.

The political system. The political system is the legal expression of the interests and ambitions of the social classes and groups it represents. Whereas the Ba'th Party represents the interests of the great majority of workers, peasants, other toiling groups, and petty bourgeoisie, whose interests and hopes are linked with the interests of the toiling classes, the political system which it has sought to establish in the period following the revolution which it led on 17th July 1968 is, as was defined by the party's Seventh Regional Congress, a democratic, revolutionary and unionist system. This system is a transitional step on the road to achieving a united Arab socialist democratic system.

The Constitution proclaimed by the revolution on 17th July 1970 confirms this nature of the political system. Article 1 of the Constitution says: Iraq is a popular democratic and sovereign republic whose main aim is to achieve a united Arab state and to establish a socialist system.

The national coalition advocated by the Ba'th Party is the wide base and the constant driving force entrenching this system and granting it more moral and material abilities in order that the system may carry out the duties specified in this charter and advance to a higher stage in the domestic and patriotic arenas.

On the basis of this, the nature of the system and its constitutional institutions are defined as follows:

(1) The political system established by the 17th July revolution under the leadership of the Ba'th Party - which seeks to realize an extensive coalition among the domestic, patriotic, and progressive forces - is a democratic, popular, socialist and unionist system.

(2) The political system ensures all the democratic freedoms of the people and their patriotic and progressive forces, including the freedom of political parties, social and professional associations, trade unions, press, opinion, faith and the other basic freedoms in accordance with the laws promulgated by the state.

(3) Throughout the current transitional period, the legislative and executive authority will be exercised by the public establishments stipulated in the provisional Constitution. The National Assembly (Arabic: Majlis al-Watani) will be formed in accordance with the provisions of law and on the bases of this charter.

(4) The formula on local government and people's councils will be applied in all administrative units in the Iraqi Republic. These councils will have the right to supervise, criticise, and control the specialized state departments in accordance with the law under which these councils will be formed.

(5) The current transitional period will end when the permanent Constitution is drafted and approved by public referendum. Therefore, this charter considers the drafting of the permanent Constitution as one of the primary tasks in the next phase. Fulfilling the objective conditions for entrenching the popular democratic system and building its national institutions depends upon this next phase.

Popular mobilization. The people - workers, peasants, students and intellectuals - are the revolution's base and the objective of its struggle. The revolution cannot achieve its transitional and long-term tasks unless it thoroughly mobilizes and gathers all its sources to build the revolutionary popular democratic society and to repel the imperialist, Zionist and reactionary conspiracies against our country and Arab homeland.

The organization of the peasants, workers, students, intellectuals and women in societies, trade unions and federations is a legitimate right stressed by the charter, a basic national necessity, and a fundamental pillar of the new revolutionary society. Therefore, the revolution, with all its available means and resources, encourages the peasant societies, workers and professional trade unions, students and women's organizations, and all the other social organizations to perform their leading and effective role in expediting the revolutionary social changes and achieving the largest possible accomplishments in the political, economic, social and cultural fields.

The revolution considers the question of organizing the youth, male and female, in extensive youth organizations as a necessity and an objective. Through such organization, the revolution seeks to enable the youth, within their active democratic organizations, to carry out their duties in the process of revolutionary building - protecting and developing the revolution's gains - and in the battle of destiny against the imperialist and Zionist enemy and all those having ambitions in any part of the Arab homeland.

The revolution considers women in existing unions, societies and institutions a basic matter and a necessity which must become widespread. It fully supports the special women's organizations so that women may occupy their proper place and carry out their required effective role in the process of revolutionary building and in the national battle. The revolution guarantees all Iraqi women the political, economic, social and cultural rights enjoyed by men.

The army and the armed forces. The establishment of national armed forces was a primary demand of the people's struggle in the era of imperialist domination. When our people imposed their will on the imperialists and their associates among the rulers in order to form a national army, the imperialists and their associates tried by various means and methods to keep the army away from the people and their national and patriotic movement and tried to convert the army into an isolated institution whose main duty would be to defend the reactionary regime and the imperialist interests. However, the overwhelming majority of the soldiers and officers - who are peasants, workers and middle class people - did not submit to the will and plans of the imperialists and their associates but expressed their agreement with the people's ambitions and aspirations for freedom, progress, national unity and rejection of all forms of persecution and domination.

The imperialists and their reactionary associates failed to turn the army into a tool to strike the rising patriotic and national movement. On more than one occasion in the history of our national struggle, the army expressed their commitment to the demands of the popular movement for liberation from imperialist domination and the control of the reactionary exploiting and corrupt classes. Their glorious revolutions of 5th May 1941 and 14th July 1958 are living proof of this.

By clinging to the popular movement and carrying out their national duties in the best manner the army becomes more important under the revolution which the Ba'th Party led on 17th July 1968 and in which the revolutionary military units vigilantly and valiantly participated, and under the current stage - the stage of building the unionist revolutionary democratic society and of struggling against the imperialist and Zionist enemy.

(1) The primary duty of the army and the armed forces is to defend the country, its sovereignty and integrity. It is also one of their primary tasks to participate in a leading way in the national struggle to repulse all the plots and ambitions against any part of the Arab homeland. These enormous tasks require that the army be equipped with the most modern weapons and that the operational, scientific and technical standards of all its members be raised, that the degree of vigilance, commitment and discipline in the army be raised, that the military schools and institutes be developed, and that a national military industry be created. They also demand that special care be given to the soldier to make him a vigilant, effective and dignified factor.

(2) Whereas the army is a basic part of the people and one of their vanguard battalions fighting for their freedom and progress in the political, economic, social and cultural fields; and whereas by virtue of its structure and aspirations, the army is committed to the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people - peasants, workers and middle-class people - then it has the responsibility of participating in the comprehensive national action to build the new revolutionary society in accordance with the revolution's slogan of the army for war and construction. Therefore, the army's participation in the popular action campaigns and in all popular activities seeking to raise the economic, social and cultural standards of the people is one of the main conditions for safeguarding the army's popular struggling identity, and protecting it from the tendencies of isolationism, bureaucracy and aloofness which the imperialists, their allied forces and the elements lagging behind the procession of revolutionary change are trying to nourish. Such participation is also a great national necessity in achieving progress in the country as soon as possible and in all fields.

(3) To ensure that the army will carry out its sacred duties in war and construction and that it will cling to the popular movement and the interests of the masses, there must be constant work to spread the national, democratic and progressive vigilance in its ranks, and safeguard it against the deviations of the adventurous groups which only think of realising their own interests at the expense of the army's basic aims and the sublime interests of the people, motivated by the imperialist and reactionary circles that are hostile to the people.

The unity of the army and of all the national armed forces and their firm support of the revolution and its command, as well as their consistent adherence to defence of the revolution and the gains of the people against all forms of aggression, plotting or subversion, are basic matters which cannot be relinquished. The command of the revolution is solely responsible for securing these conditions.

The police and security forces before the revolution were an instrument in the hand of the reactionary, dictatorial authority to persecute the masses and their patriotic and progressive nationalist forces and an institution whose actions contradicted the basic rights of the masses and their legitimate demands for freedom and progress. Today, however, and in the shadow of the revolution and the national coalition, these organs are assuming completely different tasks.

Today's basic tasks of the police and national security forces are to protect the citizens, secure their safety and protect their property from all forms of intrusion or usurpation; to protect the country from spies, agents and saboteurs; and to confront firmly the counter-revolutionary groups.

In the shadow of the revolutionary and national coalition regime, democratic ties among the police and security organs on the one hand and the masses, their nationalist forces and their trade union and professional organizations on the other should be strengthened. These organs should also be purged of corrupt elements which, in view of the nature of their ideology and interests, are hostile to the aims of the revolution and to its popular, democratic practices. This requires the enhancement of patriotic, national and democratic education in the ranks of the members of these organs. The slogan "the police in the service of the people", should become a tangible reality throughout this region.

The executive organ and the judiciary. The revolution has inherited the state organ from the eras of imperialist domination and reactionary, dictatorial control. It is natural that such an organ, which was established by these regimes and lived in their shadow, would be influenced in its structures and leanings by their interests, backward conditions and their policy, which was hostile to the masses and their aspiration to freedom, democracy and progress.

Numerous diseases exist in the state organ, including its inflation, the backwardness of its methods and approaches, the vast expenses, the spread of UN democratic, subjective relationships in it, and the inclination to be aloof from the masses and isolated from their basic interests and aspirations.

Several quarters of this organ are playing harmful and subversive roles in the phase of revolutionary transformations. By failing to keep up with these revolutionary transformations and by viewing them and their dimensions negatively, these quarters constitute a basic barrier in the way of these transformations.

The phase of the revolution and the unity of the nationalist and progressive forces require the completion of basic changes in the structure of the state organ and in its internal relationships with the masses and their political and social organizations. The slogan which should prevail and be applied conscientiously and firmly is the slogan of placing the organs of the state in the service of the masses. It is also necessary that the organs of the state keep pace with all the revolutionary political, social, economic and cultural transformations.

These tasks require that revolutionary, democratic and popular awareness be spread among the organs of the state; that the sense of responsibility be strengthened; that bureaucratic leanings and leanings towards aloofness be combated; that all manifestations of deviation and corruption, particularly bribery and nepotism, be eliminated; and that these organs be purged of corrupt and inefficient elements and constantly supplied with nationalist and progressive elements and youthful elements believing in the revolution and its aims.

These tasks also require the improvement of regulations of the state organs; the cutting down of routine; the popularization of training courses; the drafting of scientific and objective bases for the selection and promotion of civil servants; the unification of civil service laws in accordance with the capabilities of the state and the requirements of development and progress; the application of practical, studied steps necessary to eliminate manifestations of covert unemployment which is common because of the inflation of the state organs; and the allocation of surplus manpower in the state organs to productive projects which contribute to expediting progress and development in all the country's sectors so that all national resources can be used to the maximum.

The judiciary occupies a primary position among the organs of the state because it is the branch responsible for the application of justice among the citizens. The tasks entrusted to the judiciary require the development of its machineries, purging them from the counter-revolutionary elements and improving their ways of functioning as well as preserving the dignity and independence of the judiciary in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. These tasks also require a review of the laws and legalisation which contradict the principles and aims of the revolution, and the drafting of new laws and legislation organizing relationships in the revolutionary society according to its beliefs, principles and aims and facilitating the application of revolutionary programmes and plans.

The Kurdish question. The Kurdish national question remained for a number of years among the foremost great national questions awaiting solution. This caused our people to suffer great losses, endure great pains, and have their unity and the unity of the homeland exposed to danger. In view of the fact that the 17th July revolution expresses the democratic and human principles of the socialist Arab Ba'th Party, it has opened vast opportunities for the peaceful, democratic and final solution of this question. The revolution's efforts and co-operation between the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party and the Kurdish Democratic Party were crowned by the issue of the historic 11th March Manifesto.

The 11th March Manifesto is a health framework to secure the legitimate national rights and aspirations of our Kurdish people, including autonomy, and to secure the unity of the homeland and the people and the unity of their nationalist and patriotic progressive forces on the road of struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

In order to go forward to complete all the tasks of the peaceful, democratic solution of the Kurdish question in accordance with the spirit and provisions of the manifesto and within joint national action in order to build the unionist, revolutionary and democratic society, the charter defines the following:

(1) The alliance between the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party and the Kurdish Democratic Party, which constitutes the foundation stone of the national coalition, is based, as far as its starting point and its long-term objectives are concerned, on the historic revolutionary alliance of destiny between the Arab and Kurdish peoples, particularly the Arab and Kurdish toiling masses. The alliance relies on these masses, represents their interests, and expresses their legitimate aspirations and ambitions.

(2) The Kurdish masses' exercise of their legitimate national rights, including autonomy, will take place within the natural framework of national sovereignty, territory and political system in the Iraqi Republic. It will take place on the basis of the belief that Iraq is an indivisible part of the Arab homeland and that the Arab nation's capabilities, resources and legitimate and just struggle for complete liberation from imperialist domination and Zionist occupation and to achieve unity and socialism are firm historical guarantees for the freedoms and legitimate rights of the nationalities and minorities.

(3) Implementation of all the provisions of the 11th March Manifesto and the completion of the stages of the peaceful and democratic solution of the Kurdish national issue are firmly linked with the preservation, continuous development and entrenchment of the existing revolutionary regime so that it can face the conspiracies and sabotage perpetrated by imperialist and Zionist circles, local reaction and reaction from those nearby. They are also linked with the struggle to liquidate suspicious and adventurous forces and elements manipulated by those circles.

The relationship between the popular democratic national (Arabic: wataniyah) revolution - which seeks to achieve unity and socialism and is reinforced by the alliance (Arabic: tahaluf) of the Ba'th Party and the Kurdish Democratic Party and the union (Arabic: ittihad) of all the progressive patriotic and nationalist forces - and the peaceful and democratic solution of the Kurdish national issue is a dialectical relationship

(Arabic: ilaqah jadaliyah) which cannot be severed. Any separatist view is bound to serve the plans of imperialism, Zionism and local and near-by reaction. These plans aim at striking the revolution and curbing our Kurdish people's aspirations to exercise their legitimate national rights.

(4) The revolutionary changes in the political, economic, social and cultural fields in order to carry out the tasks of the popular democracy phase; achieve socialism; and serve the interests of the peasants, workers and the people's toiling masses are objective guarantees for the peaceful and democratic solution of the Kurdish issue and for entrenching its progressive meaning.

(5) The responsibility for implementing the 11th March Manifesto and achieving the peaceful and democratic solution of the Kurdish issue does not fall only on one side, but is a joint national (Arabic: wataniyah) responsibility from which no side can exempt itself.

(6) The continuous ideological and political struggle against the separatist, haughty, isolationist and Chauvinistic elements and currents is a basic condition to safeguard the peaceful and democratic solution of the Kurdish issue and guarantee its development. It is also a basic condition to preserve the national (Arabic: wataniyah) unity and the revolutionary changes which aim at achieving national and domestic tasks.

The national economy. The main characteristic of the national economy in the pre-revolution stage was that most of its sectors were dominated by imperialist states and monopolies. The economy was geared to serve the interests of the exploiting feudalist and bourgeois classes at the expense of the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people. This had led to the people's backwardness in all fields, crises, confusion and contradictions in economic policy, and corruption and backwardness in economic departments. All attempts to liberate and organize the national economy and to plan it on scientific and progressive bases remained as inadequate and confused attempts threatened by a drawback as a result of the natures and policies of the former regimes; policies hostile to the people and to their patriotic, nationalist (Arabic: qawmiyah) and progressive forces.

The stage of revolution and the emergence of the national alliance requires ardent and resolute work to achieve the tasks of this stage on the basis of building the national economy through a unionist outlook. This would lay the foundations for and bring about the beginning of an integrated Arab economy to be placed at the disposal of the popular struggle against imperialism and Zionism. Ardent and resolute work is also required to regard the course of capitalist evolution as unacceptable in principle, apart from the fact that this course is unable to achieve the mission of liberating the national economy, building it on solid bases, and achieving prosperity for the citizens.

The economic policy of the revolution is the one necessitated by the points of departure and needs of the stage of popular democracy, the requirements of the transition to socialism, and the needs of the national battle of destiny.

The coming stage requires the achievement of basic tasks in the economic domain. These include:

(1) To liberate the national economy and all its sectors, in accordance with a scientific plan, from the restrictions of subservience to foreigners.

(2) To build a diversified and integrated national economy, to devote attention to sparing the country a one-product economy planned by the imperialist states and monopolies, and to achieve self-sufficiency in all sectors where this can be done.

(3) To form specialized, efficient and active economic organs believing in the patriotic and revolutionary objectives and acting sincerely and determinedly to achieve them.

(4) To work to achieve economic unity and to consolidate the Arab common market.

(5) To regard the national and nationalist (Arabic: qawmiyah) interests as equally significant in any form of economic co-operation and dealing with foreign states and to act to develop economic relations with the socialist and friendly states on this basis.

(6) To ensure prosperity for the masses - particularly for the peasants, the workers and labouring groups, to eliminate aspects and methods of class suppression, and to achieve justice for all citizens.

(7) The public sector is the cornerstone of the national economy and all its domains - whether agriculture, industry, trade or services. The state will be responsible for steering the economic activity and laying down the rules and formulating the laws regulating this activity. The prerequisite conditions for national economic action is expansion of the public sector and its consolidation with all the means which would augment the public sector's efficacy and ability to fulfil the tasks of the present stage and the tasks of the transition to socialism. The private sector, however, is still able to fulfil positive tasks in the building of the national economy. It is necessary to strengthen this sector through guidance by, and co-operation with, the public sector in accordance with the conditions, programmes and laws laid down, formulated and promulgated by the state on the basis of this charter's principles. The mixed sector organized and encouraged by the state will also perform its positive tasks in the building of the national economy. Work is needed on selecting the economic sectors to be entrusted to the mixed sector.

(8) The needs of economic evolution require the contribution of Arab capital to all the projects to which this capital can contribute. These projects will be specified by the state, which will also furnish adequate safeguards for the contribution of this public and private capital to the national economy.

Oil and minerals. In this stage, oil constitutes the main source of the country's income. It plays a decisive role in determining the country's political and economic future. Because of the extraordinary importance of oil in our life, the foreign monopolist companies have played and are still playing serious roles in threatening the country's independence, and in plotting against its patriotic and progressive forces and the people's ambition for freedom and progress. It is natural that the revolution's strategic aim should be to free the oil wealth completely from foreign domination and exploitation, to bring it under national sovereignty in all respects, place it entirely at the service of the people's prosperity, and make it a decisive tool in the struggle against imperialism and Zionism. Serious and scientific action to achieve these aims requires a firm and resolute continuation of the national oil policy adopted by the revolution which primarily seeks the establishment of an extensive, strong and integrated oil industry.

The task of establishing the national oil industry requires the strengthening of this oil sector with all the material and human resources needed, the development of the institutes and establishments to secure the cadres required by the oil industry, and co-operation with the socialist and friendly states.

The Charter stresses the need to continue the policy of resting our rights from the monopolist companies through action in Arab and international organizations or through the measures and legislation issued by the state. A primary aim of this policy is to ensure the participation of the government in the capital of the oil companies operating in our country and in their management, to reduce (Arabic: takhfid) production and place it at the service of our national interests and to increase the price of oil and the royalties.

Following the same lines of the oil policy, the Charter gives serious attention to the continuation of the direct national exploitation of minerals. The setting up of an extensive mining industry is a main factor in building the diversified and integrated national economy which will achieve progress and enable the country fully to control the destinies of its economy and place this economy at the service of its domestic and national interests.

The agricultural revolution. The revolution is responsible for effecting a radical change in all of the political, economic, social and cultural bases and relations in favour of the movement of liberation and progress. The countryside and the agricultural sector are in the forefront of the sectors requiring an expeditious, decisive change in view of the grievous and backward condition it is suffering while being the largest sector among the sons of the people.

Our countryside needs a comprehensive revolution to liquidate the economic, tribal, and communal ties and all the backward values which it has inherited from centuries of slavery, and which have been wreaked on the countryside by the feudalist, exploitative and backward system.

The radical agrarian reform which the revolution has begun to enact in the countryside is just the beginning of the process of effecting the agricultural revolution, which will save the countryside from its backward conditions.

The realization of a radical agrarian reform to attain a comprehensive agricultural revolution requires the continuation of the revolution's measures to eliminate the feudalist holdings, distribute land among the peasants, provide the peasants with seedlings, fertilizers, machines and loans, and implement major irrigation and drainage projects to increase cultivable areas and improve their produce. Radical agrarian reform also requires propagation of overall quality, providing the material means to halt the flow of peasants from the countryside to the towns and increase the flow in the opposite direction and continue to encourage educated youths to work in the countryside.

The basic needs for effecting the revolutionary changes needed by the countryside include combating illiteracy among the peasants, introducing agriculture as a fundamental part of the educational curriculum, propagating agricultural schools and institutes and establishing institutes and laboratories specialized in the agricultural sciences.

The sound and advanced framework for realizing the agricultural revolution, raising the living standards of the peasant masses, and increasing production in accordance with the requirements of the national economy is comprised of the state farms, collective farms and co-operative farms which the revolution wants to spread throughout the countryside.

Industry. Industry is regarded a basic foundation of social progress in this modern century. It is a basic condition for the transition to socialism. The imperialists and their local allies have tried to hamper the establishment of a strong, active national industry for the following basic reasons: (1) to keep our country backward and constantly maintain it as a market for the commodities manufactured in the imperialist countries, and (2) to prevent the formation of a large working class.

When the national will and objective circumstances dictated the establishment of a national industry, they tried by every means to subordinate this industry to the imperialist market and to confine it to a complementary and consumer framework.

The revolution now faces two major tasks in the industrial domain. These are: (1) to complete, ensure the success of, develop and expand the present industries and (2) to build a large and diversified industrial base to reinforce national independence and to serve as a foundation for the political, economic and social development oriented towards socialism.

Since Iraq's economy basically leans on two important props, that is, oil and agriculture, it is natural for the process of industrialization to be directed towards establishing a mutual link between it and these two props. The basic tasks of industrialization in our country are the establishment and development of the petrochemical and mining industries and industries depending on the agricultural products of the country. This also requires the establishment of industries to supply the oil and minerals sector and the agricultural sector with the fittings and equipment they need.

The task of building a strong national industry capable of performing its tasks in our domestic and national battles on the one hand and in realizing prosperity on the other hand requires the exercise of care in finding a correct balance between the heavy and production industries, without which it is impossible to lay the foundations of a strong and independent national industry, and the consumer industries which meet the compatriots' requirements. This should be done while extreme care is exercised to increase the proportions of growth and to avoid the pitfalls of the consumer economy.

Among the basic conditions accompanying the general process of industrialization is the expansion of the power industry, especially high tension electric power. The public sector is the basis of industry. This sector is responsible for guiding the private and mixed sectors. The revolution must reinforce this sector with all the potential needed and expand it to the maximum.

In view of the country's need for quick development and for the citizens' participation in the process of construction, the private sector's contribution to the industrial programmes - particularly the light consumer and complementary industries - is a very necessary thing which the state should encourage and provide with all the factors and safeguard of success.

Another objective of the revolution, which will secure for the country vigilant, loyal and active cadres to lead this vital sector, is the action to encourage the democratic management of the industrial and production establishments through encouragement of the workers' participation in the directors' boards in a manner to ensure an increasing and developing production and which will define sound and vigilant labour relations.

The fulfilment of these tasks requires the development of the private sector's industrial organs, that development of the industrial planning organs, increased industrial schools and institutes, and the help of all national and Arab expertise and of the expertise and aid of the socialist and friendly countries.

Trade. The trade sector occupies an extremely important position in view of its basic relation to the question of national development and national independence and its capacity as the sector responsible for ensuring consumer needs.

The trade policy which must be followed is to subject domestic and foreign trades to the requirements of national independence, self-sufficiency and the development plan. This policy also calls for limiting the trade movement to the trends to transform it from an intermediate, exploitative and greedy sector into a basic link in the chain of an integrated and developed national economy geared to serve the people. This requires pursuing the course of nationalizing foreign and wholesale trade and subjecting the import-export policy to the needs of development and the supreme national interest.

The revolution cares for the protection of the interests of the working masses, to ensure an appropriate living standard for them, and to eliminate all the aspects of exploitation, greed and embezzlement. The revolution cares at the same time for the preservation of the interests of the small and middle-class merchants. It believes that the private sector is able to play a positive role in the trade domain if the private sector is placed within the framework of the interests of the masses and the supreme national interest.

The Charter calls to consolidate the public trade sector and provide it with all the means for success, development and expansion, thus enabling this sector to perform its tasks in the process of reinforcing national independence, building a solid economic base and providing the citizens with commodities at the proper prices in a manner far removed from the price fluctuations and crises to whose fabrication monopolist greed and the anti-popular elements contribute.

Financial policy. Financial policy, throughout the former regimes, was confused, improvised and disconnected from the interests of the masses and their basic domestic and national causes.

For financial policy successfully to perform its fundamental role in building the democratic, popular and unionist system, this policy must be based on a clear-cut constant and scientific adherence to the fundamental interests of the masses and their fateful domestic and national causes. This can be done by channelling the budget expenditures towards national defence, development, education, health, social insurance, and public service affairs.

The Charter advocates the need to reconsider the tax policy in a way which will guarantee a just system of taxation and to reduce indirect taxes on industrial goods, medicine and materials used in the production of basic consumer goods. The Charter also upholds the need to adopt all what will instil an awareness of being thrifty in the masses with the objective of deepening their sense of participation in the building of society.

Social objectives. Odd circumstances and serious diseases prevailed in our society through the centuries of foreign hegemony, class persecution and the domination of corrupt and dictatorial groups. These circumstances have impaired the masses' ability to work, produce and create and have burdened them with the bonds of oppression and backwardness.

The slogan of eliminating poverty, ignorance and disease has been one of the fundamental slogans of our struggle in the regional and pan-national fields. This slogan still has a key position among the objectives of the revolution, which aspires to bring about a radical and general change in social conditions through a unionist, socialist and democratic outlook. The point of departure toward the change sought by the revolution is the profound faith in the masses and in their creative role in making history and building civilization. Therefore, the revolution - under the canopy of joint national action to erect the edifice of the new revolutionary society - seeks to ensure all the social conditions needed to preserve the freedom and dignity of the citizens, to enable them to work, produce and create and to free them of all the bonds which would shatter their human capabilities and aspirations.

The tasks facing the revolution in this field can be summed up as follows:

- (1) To consider work as the right and duty of every citizen able to work and to eliminate all forms of unemployment.
- (2) To provide the citizens with social insurance and to ensure a dignified life for them under a plan compatible with the evolution of the revolution and the state's resources.
- (3) To ensure health care, medicine and prevention from disease and to regard human life as a basic value which must be preserved through all means within a progressive scientific plan in step with the state's resources at each stage.

(4) To propagate all the branches of science among all the citizens, to link education in a planned manner to the goals of development and growth and the domestic and national causes and to set it up on a basis which would achieve the revolution's goals and the aspirations of the popular masses within the framework of the democratic, socialist and unionist relations and values.

At its present stage the revolution aims to implement its plan calling for compulsory education in the elementary stage in order to implement it in the next two stages, the middle and secondary stages. The elimination of illiteracy is a basic condition to effect a radical change in social conditions in the direction of progress. The revolution has sought to accelerate the process of eliminating illiteracy. This task, however, still requires a great deal of effort. The popular organizations and the groups of students and the educated assume the responsibility for large-scale work to achieve this task as soon as possible.

(5) To ensure healthy and proper housing for all citizens in accordance with the requirements of the stage and the state's resources. At the present stage, the state wants to fix rents in a manner compatible with the income of the citizens and to protect them from greed and extortion. The state also wants to encourage the social and co-operative institutions seeking to provide their members with houses.

The state has a basic responsibility to construct large residential units throughout the region with health, transport, cultural and security amenities.

(6) Women have endured all the circumstances of slavery, exploitation and backwardness under which our people had lived. Women have also suffered from their own bad circumstances which have offended their human dignity and hampered their free, conscious and creative contribution to life. Therefore, the special care for women, in order to move them to new circumstances, is a basic objective of the process of social transformation. The liberation of women from the vestiges of the feudal and bourgeois outlook and from the circumstances and restrictions under which women were treated simply as objects of pleasure or second-class citizens is a national and holy duty for which one must struggle with faith and enthusiasm.

Our society, which faces the task of fighting against imperialism, Zionism, reaction and backwardness and against many dangers threatening us, must not be deprived of the effective and active role which can be played by women, who constitute half of society. The liberation of women from all the restrictions and impediments is also the correct beginning in raising a new generation capable of assuming its domestic and national responsibilities.

Culture, the arts and the dissemination of information. Culture, the arts and the dissemination of information are among the noblest forms of human civilization and among the strongest and most influential methods devised by man to express his social condition, feelings, ambitions and aspirations. All stages of human evolution have had their own culture, methods for information dissemination and special arts in view of the dialectical connections between these branches and the social, economic and political system. Therefore, it is natural and legitimate for the new revolutionary system to have its culture, information dissemination methods, and arts which express its principles, conditions, aspirations and ambitions.

In an old society, the revolutionary culture, information media and the arts would emerge and struggle to express themselves and to occupy influential positions among the masses. When an old society collapses and the revolution comes to power, it is inevitable that the revolution [word indistinct] its decisive and comprehensive victory over culture, arts and the information media of the old society. The relationships between culture, the information media and the arts of the old society and those of the new revolutionary society would be dialectical with two aspects: (1) A vigilant relation with a historical and developing outlook of deeply-rooted heritage; and (2) The wish to form new information media, culture and arts fully expressing the conditions of the new society, its needs, feelings and aspirations.

The present stage of the revolutionary, democratic and unionist society, striving to attain socialism, lays down as conditions the following guidelines and tasks in the fields of culture, arts, and information dissemination.

(1) The information media, culture, and arts of the revolution stem from the national, democratic, and socialist outlook interacting with and open to human culture in general and progressive culture in particular. Information media, culture and art are closely connected with the masses and with their causes, sentiments, and aspirations, but maintain the freedom to select the forms and methods of expression and preserve the process of creating and improving.

(2) There must be a firm and vigilant struggle against ideas, theories, currents and methods promoting sectarianism, chauvinism, racialism, foreign influence (Arabic: shu'ubiyah), regionalism and the spirit of defeatism and liberalism, which serve the imperialists and their aides, such as the feudalists, members of the bourgeoisie and all the enemies of the revolution. This struggle must also be waged at all stages against all the byproducts of these ideas, theories, currents and methods. The informational, cultural, and artistic institutions must be cleared of these. These institutions must also be cleared of elements believing in and directly or indirectly promoting these ideas, theories, currents, and methods.

(3) Attention must be given to preserving the Arab heritage, discerning all its humanitarian and progressive values, and propagating them among the masses and throughout the world. Attention must also be devoted to the heritage of the civilization of Mesopotamia, to the Kurdish national heritage and to the folklore of all the region's nationalities and minorities.

(4) Resources needed for building advanced institutions of culture, art and information dissemination are to be secured. These institutions must be constantly developed to keep abreast of the spirit and progress of the century; to propagate these institutions among the masses; to provide them with a qualified staff believing in the revolution, its notion, and its aspirations; and to make use of the national, Arab and international expertise in these domains.

(5) A negative outlook on cultural, artistic, and informational action must be resisted in order to promote the social standing and to raise the living standards of those working in these vanguard fields and to encourage them to work in them.

(6) In this century the universities perform an important, pioneering role in the life of society in their capacity as an important means to proliferate consciousness and knowledge and to train scientific cadres for the various fields of specialization. In our region these institutions will play a special role in keeping abreast of the revolutionary process and in supporting this process in order to meet all the requirements of social transformation in favour of the domestic and national struggle.

On this basis, the Charter advocates reinforcing the academic institutions and institutes of scientific research in a manner compatible with the masses' aspirations. This should be done by effecting the processes of social and economic transformation, in order to set up a unified democratic and popular society to attain socialism. This can only be done by clearing these institutions of all Rightist and liberal currents, which are hostile to the revolution and which hamper its progress, and by reforming the curricula of academic education in a manner ensuring their compatibility with the revolution's premises and programmes for development and with the dire need to develop and expand the scientific and technological studies.

The Charter is intended to be a guide for the masses in the revolutionary process. It is not a blueprint for the future. It is a living document that will be revised and amended as the revolution progresses. The Charter is the result of the collective wisdom and experience of the masses. It is the basis for the revolutionary struggle. It is the guide for the masses in the revolutionary process. It is the basis for the revolutionary struggle. It is the guide for the masses in the revolutionary process.

Policy in the Arab sphere is defined by the revolution's unionist, progressive, democratic and popular identity and by its faith in socialism. The revolution's historical task is to assume a complete, effective and vanguard role in the Arab struggle movement and to achieve the struggle's objectives which, in brief, are to build a unified Arab democratic socialist society. As a means to express this policy and achieve its objectives, the Charter calls for:

- (1) A general and firm struggle by all means against imperialism, its influence, its interests and puppets, liberating all parts of the Arab world from imperialism and strongly opposing any imperialist attempts to infiltrate the Arab homeland directly or indirectly.
- (2) The firm confrontation of any foreign attempt to usurp, dominate or sever any part of the Arab homeland. Since the Arabian Gulf is currently exposed to continuous attempts by imperialist quarters and the puppet Government of the Shah of Iran to wipe out its Arab character and usurp parts of it, the struggle against these attempts is a sacred patriotic and national duty.
- (3) A struggle by all means to achieve comprehensive Arab unity on a liberal, democratic and popular basis whereby the masses will become the effective instrument to create the historic unity. A struggle against and exposure of false forms of unity because they aim at distorting the substance of unity and constitute a form of conspiracy against unity.
- (4) The liberation of Palestine from Zionist occupation, a central issue in the Arab struggle, which is dialectically linked with the struggle for liberation, unity and the building of socialism and is based on the Palestinian peoples right to return to their liberated land and exercise their full right of self-determination. This means the denunciation of all surrender solutions which aim at liquidating the Palestinian question or weakening it through partial solutions.
- (5) The achievement of these major national tasks calls for the mobilization of the Arab masses in accordance with effective formulae for struggle. The armed popular struggle, particularly on the Palestinian front and wherever the need calls in every part of the Arab homeland, is a basic method which cannot be dispensed with.
- (6) Achieving the unity of common action among all the progressive patriotic revolutionary forces and groups, both at official and popular levels in every country and throughout the Arab homeland, to guarantee the largest and most effective capabilities in the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction.
- (7) The support of revolutionary changes in the Arab countries and the backing of progressive patriotic national liberation movements to strengthen the objectives of the Arab struggle and deepen the struggle's historic course.

Foreign policy. Foreign policy stems from and is defined by the revolution's progressive anti-imperialist identity. It also stems from the belief that the 17th July revolution and the revolution in the Arab homeland are a vital and effective part of the world anti-imperialist revolution. In the past, the revolution expressed this identity in the international field by completely and firmly aligning with the camp of the peoples fighting against imperialism, aggression and racial discrimination, supporting world liberation movements and the progressive forces everywhere, and strengthening ties with these forces and the socialist bloc countries.

The most significant landmark of this course was the expansion of political, economic and cultural relations with the socialist bloc countries and the recognition of the German Democratic Republic, the revolutionary government in South Vietnam and the Government of National Union in Cambodia and the support of all the forces fighting for freedom and progress in the world. On the basis of this attitude the Charter stresses the following on foreign policy:

(1) Firm adherence to the policy of struggle against imperialism in the world, rejecting all forms of subservience, supporting the right of all nations and peoples to self-determination and condemning the policies of aggression, usurpation and racial discrimination.

(2) Opposing military and hostile pacts, plans and blocs and imperialist policies which threaten peoples' security and safety and endanger world peace.

(3) The strengthening of ties with the peoples and states of the socialist camp to guarantee mutual interests and give more support to the world struggle to defeat imperialism and eliminate its influence.

(4) The strengthening and developing of relations with the patriotic and national liberation movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America in particular and with all liberation movements in the world in general, including labour and progressive popular movements in Europe and the United States.

(5) The establishment of friendship and co-operation ties with all countries which adopt positive attitudes on our issues and patriotic and national interests.

Peace be with you.

Ba'th Statement on Iraq's November Anniversary

Damascus home service in Arabic 19.15 GMT 17.11.71

Precis of statement by the Ba'th Party National Command on "the black November apostasy in fraternal Iraq":

The Rightist clique, in collaboration with reaction and the monopolist oil companies, participated in striking at the aspirations of the Arab masses in Iraq. The Rightist clique and its suspect military elements implemented their plots after attempting to defame the Party and turn it from its revolutionary democratic course so as to isolate it from the toiling masses in Iraq and all parts of the Arab homeland.

The Party strugglers in Iraq were always looking forward to Iraq playing its part in the march of the Arab revolution by its efforts to wrest Iraq's rights from the oil companies, to exploit the nation's oil and to carry out social and economic changes expressing the interest of the people's toiling classes particularly the workers and peasants. But infiltration of certain elements into the Party command and some senior military reactionaries' assumption of positions in the National Revolution Command Council has prevented the achievement of these aims, for which the Party's bases have struggled for so long.

The freezing of the national oil company law, the renewal of fighting in northern Iraq, the exclusion of any effort to solve the Kurdish problem peacefully and democratically, and the failure to take deterrent measures against feudalists, reactionaries and capitalists who took conspiratorial and suspect action against the interest of the toiling class - all this was preparation to implement the imperialist reactionary plan for the emergence of the November apostasy.

The 17th July 1968 coup, which was planned by the British and US Intelligence in co-operation with the Rightist clique, has enabled this clique to rule Iraq with fascist terror methods. This clique launched campaigns of terror and liquidation against the best revolutionary strugglers among the workers, peasants, soldiers, progressive thinkers and trade union leaders in an attempt to liquidate the progressive national movement as a whole in Iraq.

When it first assumed power, this clique claimed that its pretext for coming to power was to reply to the June defeat. It launched large-scale suspect campaigns against progressive Arab regimes, particularly in Egypt and Syria. No sooner had it revealed itself and proved in practice its domestic and national treason than it withdrew the Iraqi Army from the eastern front and continued to liquidate the Army's best officers, NCOs and men. It also dissipated Iraq's sovereignty over its land and territorial waters in the Shat al-Arab. It also bargained with the monopolist oil companies. The peak of its treason was its plotting with Jordanian reaction in the massacres of September 1970 when it collaborated to strike at the Palestine Resistance preparatory to the liquidation of the Palestine question.

Libyan Comment on Arab Issues

(a) Libyan News Agency in Arabic 10.50 GMT 17.11.71

Excerpts from report of agency comment on Shuwayrib's report on Cairo conference:

Ambassador Sa'd ad-Din Abu Shuwayrib, the head of the Libyan Arab Republic delegation to the Arab foreign ministers' conference which was held this week in Cairo, has informed his government of the failure of the conference. He said the conference could not adopt resolutions and positions compatible with the critical stage through which the Arab homeland was passing.

In a comment, the Libyan News Agency political editor said that the Ambassador's statement was the only indication of what had actually taken place at the conference and how the conference had ended... The announcement of the failure of the conference by the head of the Libyan Arab Republic delegation reaffirmed the Libyan revolution's repudiation of the custom of concealing facts and claiming false successes, a custom which would only reap disappointment and setback for the Arab nation. The 1st September revolution government was the only one among all the Arab governments to disclose to the Arab masses the failure of the Arab foreign ministers' conference and also Arab hesitation over the pan-Arabism of the battle in its important historic statement which was broadcast two [sic] days ago.

The agency's editor concluded his comment by saying that the conference was not serious enough to discuss the pan-Arabism of the battle as the only practical method to enter the crucial battle against the Zionist enemy...

(b) Libyan Radio in Arabic 13.00 GMT 17.11.71

Excerpts from commentary on Arab States' commitment to the battle:

The serious historic statement recently issued by the Revolution Command Council is the last appeal by the 1st September revolution to the Arab countries to fulfil their commitments to the plan for the pan-Arabism of the battle - the plan presented by the Libyan Arab revolution to the Arab world as the only method of action to liberate the land and preserve dignity...

The year which we want to be decisive for our issue, the land which has been occupied for over four years, and the arrogant and stubborn enemy which challenges the aspirations of our nation for a free and peaceful future; all these factors, brothers, still exist and require us to be up to a level of seriousness compatible with the present serious circumstances of our nation...

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CAIRO, AMMAN, KUWAIT, BAHRAIN RESIDENCY, WASHINGTON AND
SAVING TO ABU DHABI, DUBAI, DOHA AND MUSCAT.

NATIONAL CHARTER.

39 1. THE PROMISED NATIONAL CHARTER (SEE PARAGRAPH 2 OF MY TELNO.
1153, NOT TO ALL) IS BEING PUBLISHED IN TWO STAGES. THE FIRST
HALF OF THE CHARTER WAS BROADCAST YESTERDAY EVENING, 15 NOVEMBER,
AND IS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS THIS MORNING, THE SECOND INSTALMENT
IS TO BE BROADCAST TONIGHT.

2. A NUMBER OF FOREIGN, BEIRUT-BASED CORRESPONDENTS, INCLUDING
THE "DAILY EXPRESS" MAN, DAVID HIRST OF THE "GUARDIAN",
AND AT LEAST 2 AMERICAN JOURNALISTS, HAVE BEEN FLOWN IN AT THE
IRAQ GOVERNMENT'S INVITATION AND EXPENSE. THEY HAVE BEEN
TOLD THAT PRESIDENT BAKR IS TO HOLD A PRESS CONFERENCE
TOMORROW EVENING (17 NOVEMBER) AT WHICH HE WILL ANSWER QUESTIONS
ABOUT THE NATIONAL CHARTER AND ABOUT IRAQ'S POLICY IN ARAB
AFFAIRS.

3. THE HALF OF THE CHARTER WHICH HAS SO FAR BEEN VOUCHSAFED TO
US, IS A LENGTHY, NOT TO SAY TURGID, DOCUMENT, THE BURDEN OW
WHICH IS THAT "THE GREAT NATIONALIST ROLE WHICH OUR COUNTRY IS
CALLED UPON TO CARRY OUT REQUIRES TAKING THE ROAD OF EARNEST
COALITION (SIC.) FOR SETTING UP AN UNITED FRONT". A LONG
HISTORICAL PREFACE IS FOLLOWED BY A LIST OF THE PARTY'S
ACHIEVEMENTS DURING THE LAST 3 YEARS. THE TEXT OF BOTH PARTS,
TOGETHER WITH A DETAILED COMMENTARY, WILL FOLLOW BY BAG.

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4. A SUBSEQUENT POPULAR DEBATE ON THE CHARTER IS (IMPROBABLY) PROMISED. ALL THE SIGNS ARE THAT THE KDP HAVE NOT BEEN CONSULTED BEFOREHAND BUT THE THE COMMUNISTS, OR SOME OF THEM, HAVE BEEN SQUARED.

FCO PASS SAVING TO ABU DHABI , DUBAI , DOHA AND MUSCAT.

BALFOUR PAUL

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

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British Embassy
BAGHDAD

(47)

1/8

Miss V E Beckett
Near Eastern Department
F C O

18 November 1971

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| RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No. 10 23 NOV 1971 NEQ 1/2 |
|--|

Enter
Research Dept
6/12
15 2/12

Dear Veronica,

NATIONAL CHARTER

(46) A NEQ 2/2

1. In our telno 1164, we promised to send you the text of the National Charter published on 15 and 16 November together with some comment. The INA's text of the Charter is enclosed. (I have added an index and paragraph numbers as navigational aids); and the comment follows below.
2. Since the Charter is such a formless sea, I have decided to offer you some marginal comment, to be read in conjunction with the Charter itself, with the object of picking out those passages which have struck us as of interest. Since this detailed comment is itself lengthy, I am consigning it to the annex below (and I am not copying it to the other recipients of this letter.)
3. The text of the subsequent press conference follows by bag also. President Bakr answered 27 questions (submitted in writing well beforehand) from the crowd of hurriedly assembled journalists. But he added little new; and managed to dodge the few awkward balls, such as the dismissal of Ammash and Shaikhly.
4. The three immediate impressions I have of the Charter and the way it has been presented are:
 - a. As far as content is concerned, it contains nothing particularly surprising. What it does do is to spell out more sharply current Ba'athist policy on certain issues (eg party control over the Army, its attitudes towards other Arab states, and its general guidelines for the national economy). The general trend seems to confirm the diagnosis of "a slither towards the socialist camp" put forward in the Ambassador's letter 3/13 of 24 July to Richard Evans. (6)
 - b. As to procedure, it seems clear that the KDP have not been consulted beforehand; on the other hand it seems likely that some at least of the communists (who are, of course, split into two, if not three, factions) have. What will be the next step towards setting up a National Front and a National Assembly, remains remarkably ambiguous. But at least there is now no need to enact a Permanent Constitution before taking it.

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.../(c)
Mr Genter may
care to glance
para 7/12

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- c. I am not sure that the timing was particularly significant, That it was promoted so soon after Iraq's latest, ponderous initiative over the Gulf and Palestine, I am inclined to think was largely coincidental.

*Yours ever,
Christopher.*

A C D S MacRae

ENC 2

c.c. (without enclosures) to Chanceries at:

TEHRAN
BEIRUT
CAIRO
AMMAN
KUWAIT
BAHRAIN RESIDENCY
WASHINGTON

- 2 -

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NOTES ON THE NATIONAL CHARTER

PREFACE

Page 1 paragraph 1. The last sentence advances a theory of "secondary differences" (used before, I believe, by some of the East European régimes in the past) to explain away uncomfortable, existing divisive tendencies within the Arab body politic.

Page 5 paragraph 8. The last sentence appears to rule out the possibility of unity with a good many other Arab countries: alliance with countries taking a different view over the Palestine question, with Monarchies, and by implication with members of the Quadripartite Union, are all condemned.

Page 6 paragraph 9. The passage at the top of page 6 looks like justification for Iraqi support of minority Fedayeen groups (notably, the ALF and PFLP) against the wishes of the majority Al Fatah.

Page 6 paragraph 10. The explicit rejection of a "Palestinian State" solution is of interest.

Page 9 paragraph 13. When it comes to the crunch of determining action on a Pan-Arab front the Iraqi Ba'ath are clearly determined to cling on to their right to determine their own actions (despite professions elsewhere in the Charter of the need for joint Arab attitudes).

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE REGIME SO FAR

Pages 9-12 paragraph 14 ought to have a further subtitle which might read "ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE BA'ATH REGIME SO FAR". The main point of interest in this passage lies in the batting order in which the Ba'aths achievements are listed: "blows against Agents and spies and Imperialistic and Reactionary conspiracies" is one of the openers; the March 11 Agreement with the Kurds is down at no. 7.

FUTURE POLICY

Page 13 paragraph 15 onward. The last section from this point to the end, should be subtitled "FUTURE POLICY".

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Page 15 paragraph 18(3): future policy generally. The current stage is described strictly as a transitional one. This should allow the interim constitution to be used for the setting up of a National Assembly.

Page 15 paragraph 18(4): Popular Councils. It is not at all clear what these popular councils are to be; but they look (in theory, at least) like a means of generating participation in and criticism of the administration at Liwa level. The enabling Law looks as though it will come after the system has started to operate. (This point seems to have puzzled others too, since President Bakr was asked about it at his Press Conference. He revealed that such a system had started being used, by "some party organisations in Baghdad since approximately 20 days".)

Page 15 paragraph 18(5). The current transitional period will be ended only after the enactment of a permanent constitution to be agreed by general plebiscite. No dates offered, of course.

Page 19 paragraph 27: The Armed Forces. Note that leadership of the Revolution is the "only side responsible for securing such conditions" - ie the defence of the Revolution. This is a brusque reminder that the Army will continue to be firmly subjected to the will of the Party.

Page 19 paragraph 28: Police and Security. Too nauseatingly hypocritical to require comment

Page 21 paragraphs 35 and 36. The last sentence of paragraph 35 and the second of paragraph 36 make it clear that the Ba'ath Party will continue to "pack" the administrative cadres. ("Subjective scientific norms" clearly means "in line with the dictates of the Party").

Pages 22 and 23, paragraphs 43 and 44. The emphasis on "the Kurdish masses" looks very much like a warning to Barzani that the Ba'ath will appeal over his head if he makes too much trouble.

Page 23 paragraph 44. The last clause contains about the flimsiest guarantee of minority rights that could have been devised!

Section on the National Economy, pages 24 to 26, paragraphs 52-59. Nothing unexpected. This follows the standard line on the relationship between the Public to the Private Sector, though spelled out more clearly than hitherto. Clause 5 in paragraph 56 is of some interest, however: the first half of the sentence is a common enough nationalistic sentiment; but linked to the next

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sentence mentioning "to work for developing economic relations with friendly and socialist countries" suggests that government contracts may be further swung away from Britain to East European countries (though France possibly still ranks as "friendly" in this context).

The Section on Oil and Minerals on pages 26-28 paragraphs 60-67; is also not surprising. The long term aim is, not surprisingly, described as "the full liberation of oil wealth from foreign domination and exploitation" but there is no suggestion that this is considered imminently possible. Paragraph 65 contains a hint about short term aims: participation is clearly going to become an early issue. Despite headlines in the newspapers, President Bakr's subsequent comments at the Press Conference added little.

Section on Agriculture, pages 28-29, paragraphs 68 to 71. Again, nothing surprising. The need for basic agricultural infrastructure, irrigation and drainage, is again stressed. The efforts to arrest the drift from country to town are mentioned cursorily.

Section on Industry, pages 29 to 31, paragraphs 72 to 80. Also fairly predictable, following Soviet thinking on the need for underdeveloping countries to industrialise. There has in practice been little sign so far of "the democratic management" mentioned in paragraph 79.

Section on Commerce, pages 31 to 32, paragraphs 81 to 84. Again merely confirms existing trends which are towards the complete nationalisation of foreign trade and wholesale trade; but again, spelt out more clearly than hitherto.

The Section on Financial Policy, page 32, paragraphs 85 to 87. Paragraph 86 looks like a bid for popularity more than anything else: indirect taxation on most consumer commodities, especially drugs, is already low.

Social Objectives, pages 32 to 35, paragraphs 88 to 92. All good, clean UN stuff. The emphasis on the rights and potentialities of women is of course interesting in the Arab Middle East.

The Section on Culture, Arts and Information pages 35 to 37, paragraphs 93 to 96. Paragraph 95(2) on page 36 echoes the President's statements earlier this year about the need to get rid of bourgeois culture. The mention of "purging" is a clear warning to intellectuals of "liberal" tendencies. It is of minor interest that in paragraph 95(3) pre-Arab civilisations and Kurds at least get a tactful mention.

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Section on Arab Policy pages 37 to 38, paragraphs 97 and 98.
Objectives 1 and 2 seem to be more or less concerned with the same theme - the Gulf - which is evidently the subject of prime importance at present in Iraqi eyes.

Objective 3 seems again to refer disapprovingly back, in its reference to "forged forms of unity", to the quadripartite union.

Objective 7 will not be taken kindly by a number of Arab régimes, particularly those in the Gulf. It firmly endorses Iraq's right to meddle where they like. Again this is more uncompromisingly spelt out than it has been hitherto.

Section on Foreign Policy pages 38 and 39, paragraphs 99 and 100.
The end of the preambular paragraph 99, and objective 3 in paragraph 100, are both evidence of the slither towards the socialist camp described in the Ambassador's letter 3/13 of 24 July to Richard Evans.

Objective 5 invites fulsome approval of the Charter from East Germany, North Korea et al - which will no doubt be forthcoming.

A C D S MacRae
18 November 1971

THE NATIONAL
ACTION
CHARTER

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page number

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P R E F A C E

1. The Arab Revolutionary Movement in its various contingents and across its protracted militant march, suffered grave defeats and setbacks. From the vast, rich experience accompanied the various stages of its struggle, we may deduce many lessons forefronted by this fundamental fact: Among the paramount factors which secure the ability of Arab revolutionary movements to achieve victory is their consciousness of the role played by the joint action and by the alliance of their contingents. And that among the main factors which led to their defeats and setbacks is the inclination of their various contingents to pitch on secondary differences among themselves rather than on the principal contradiction existing between them, on one hand, and imperialism, Zionism and reaction on the other.

2. The periods which are characterized by the rising tide of the masses in each part of the Arab homeland and by intensifying struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction as well as by the rising prestige of doctrines, slogans & revolutionary progressive practices are the very periods characterized by the inclination of various progressive and national forces towards cooperation among themselves within specified frameworks and according to specified formulas. Also, the periods of regress in the revolutionary tide which were marked by the blowing of the currents of apostasy and its dark regressive ideas, and the multiplication of the imperialist, Zionist and reactionary dangers on the

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Arab Revolutionary Movement and on the destiny of the Arab people and their liberational progressive accomplishments are the very periods marked by the severe unobjective conflicts between the patriotic, progressive arab sides.

3. There is not a shred of doubt that the tendency towards the joint action and the cooperation among the parties to the national progressive Arab movement was a natural consequence to the heightened political and ideological standard among those parties and their intent to detonate the secondary contradictions among them prior to going into the decisive show-down with imperialism, Zionism and reaction was the reflection of a deterioration in this standard.

4. The June 5 defeat which inflicted the gravest setback upon Arab struggle had triggered the onset of a new stage that demands in the first place a careful scientific study for the experiences undergone in the outgoing stage and a radical and bold check to its mistakes and aberrations and a genuine and decisive revolutionary action to get up to a new standard that rejects the realities of defeat and upturns the setback unto the course of victory.

5. The imperialist-Zionist onslaught on the Arab Nation on June 5 raised the contradiction between the Arab Nation on one hand and imperialism and Zionism on the other hand to extreme degrees of sharpness, a fact which demands on part of the Arab Nation the broadest and deepest mobilization

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of militant energies for confronting this onslaught and for beating it back and realizing manifest advance in the Struggle against the positions of imperialism, Zionism and their ally, reaction. This reinforcement and mobilization operation shall by no means be serious and effective unless it embraces the Arab masses, the very masses whose role had been paralyzed by the pre-June regimes and which, by means of coercive and oppressive practices at one time and by demagogical deception at another, had been separated by these regimes from their issues of destiny. This is because it is the masses alone that is the invincible power which is capable of standing up to the imperialist-Zionist onslaught with unrelenting firmness topping at no limit short of realizing the complete victory.

6. Moreover, among the exigencies of this stage is that the national progressive forces in every part of the Arab homeland should seek pursuits of cooperation among one another with a view to realizing the highest and strongest possible forms of unity so as to guarantee the availability of the necessary vanguard force which is to lead the masses in the battle. This will serve as a logical and natural answer to the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary alliance which had attained high degrees of compactness and perfection that cannot be confronted, no matter how vast energies enthusiasm put up, except by a counter-alliance representing all the forces of Arab liberation and progress hostile to imperialism, Zionism and reaction. Granting

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that the mobilization of the Arab masses and the cooperation of national progressive masses among one another are two essential conditions for confronting the imperialist-Zionist onslaught and for confronting reaction which alligns itself with imperialism and Zionism — which emerged on the arena after the defeat, trying to inherit the places of the defeated regimes and to regain rehabilitation and positions following long years of retreat and self-indulgence — there is yet another radical condition for placing the cause of Arab struggle at a standard qualifying for victory and warding off the risks of another defeat. This condition provides that the masses and their revolutionary establishments occupy the positions of leadership and guidance, now that the totalitarian, bourgeois and feudalist regimes have failed to stop the imperialist-Zionist aggression on the Arab Nation and failed to realize the Nation's targets of liberation, unity and progress.

7. The Petty-bourgeois regimes which led the pre-defeat stage had proved their incapacity and failure by the very fact of defeat; hence, it is neither logical nor reasonable that such regimes should continue to monopolize the leadership of Arab struggle at a stage which is more dangerous and delicate, demanding stronger and wider ideological, mobilizational, political and military capabilities.

8. The unity dictated by the new stage among the various parties of the national progressive Arab movement whether on regional or national levels should rest on principles

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providing for intensification of struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, enabling the masses to lead their battle, the availability of absolute revolutionary democratic atmospheres, liquidation of all manifestations of oppression against the masses and their political, unionist and cultural institutions, liquidation of all forms of imperialistic influence, and closing doors for ever against the imperialistic states' heinous attempts for exploiting the current conditions in the Arab homeland to stage a come-back & occupy new political and economic positions. The Unity among the parties to the national, progressive movement in any Arab country — to be serious and genuine — is bound to address itself towards the realization of unity among the Arab countries prepared for it. The realistic unity, besides the necessity of being possessing the prerequisites mentioned above, is a unity disposed towards a resolute form of struggle against imperialism. As to the unitary formulas built in the shed of pacifying imperialism, recognizing the Zionist entity and expanding ties with Arab reaction, such unity is not only fictitious one, but in effect, it is also a framework for grouping the forces apostasy against the progressive forces and for securing passage to the imperialist-Zionist schemings which are categorically rejected by the Arab people.

9. Among the main fundamental principles for any alliance among the national and progressive forces, whether on the regional or national levels, is the necessity to adopt armed popular struggle as a principal method in the struggle against

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the imperialist-Zionist enemy and this demands honest and active alliance with the Palestinian Resistance. The Palestinian Resistance, regardless of the divergence of views and evaluations among the ranks of the national and progressive forces about this or that contingent of its contingents, is a fundamental instrument of the instruments of our people's struggle against the imperialist-Zionist enemy and its local allies. The alliance with the Palestinian Resistance and the provision of material and moral aids to it in its legitimate struggle, constitutes one of the basic conditions dictated by the new stage — the Post-June 5 defeat stage.

(c). Therefore, among the chief assignments of any alliance emerging between the national and progressive forces: the denunciation of all methods of maneuverings and outflanking aimed for encircling the Palestinian Resistance in order to outstrip it of its militant weapons and to domesticate it in accordance with the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary schemings as well as the resolute struggle against these methods. Also among the chief assignments of this alliance: the exposition of any attempt designed to liquidate the Palestinian Issue, be it through the setting up of a fictitious puppet state on one part of the Palestine soil or through the banishment of the historical, political and legal aspect of the Palestine Issue to portray the issue as a mere question of refugees who deserve sympathy and assistance. The alliance should resist these methods by means of popular struggle. The main target of Arab struggle on national level is the liquidation of the racist, aggressive

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Zionist entity and enabling the Arab Palestinian people to exercise self-determination on their liberated soil.

* * * * *

(1) Since the July 17 and 30, 1968, the Arab Baath Socialist Party has led the revolutionary change in Iraq. This change had come at a time in which internal, Arab and international circumstances were characterized by extreme gravity and delicacy. The revolutionary change was born in international circumstances marked by intensification of the ferocious campaign launched by world imperialism headed by the United States of America against the world's nations, particularly the Indo-Chinese peoples, the Arab people and the peoples fighting for freedom and progress in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The same period in which the Revolution was born has been marked by characteristics countering this campaign: the escalated tempo of struggle by the camp of the peoples fighting against the imperialist aggressive camp, particularly in the Indo-Chinese front where the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia inflicted numerous and heavy defeats on the U.S. imperialists and ^{on} their international and local allies. The period was also characterized by a grave passive phenomenon ; namely, the aggravation of division among the ranks of the socialist camp which imposed great damages on the anti-imperialistic human struggle. On the Arab level, the Revolution was born in a gravest stage of the stages of the Arab Nation's struggle - the stage of the June 5 defeat that had ended by the Zionist enemy's occupation of the entire Palestinian soil and of other Arab lands of the countries of Egypt and Syria.

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(2) If that period has represented a grave military and political defeat it at the same time sparked off a large-scale Arab revolutionary resurgence represented by a developed power of the Palestinian Resistance and by an observable escalation in the determination for struggle against imperialism and Zionism in most parts of the Arab homeland. The period is also marked by intensification of the masses' movement urging for radical change in all political, economic, military, cultural and social conditions; the conditions that had led to the defeat. The July 17 Revolution in one of its historical aspects, was one of this movement's fruits. On the regional level, the birth of the July 17 Revolution occasioned with most critical and delicate circumstances prevalent in the country. The national revolution that was led by the people and the army on July 14 had, in the ensuing ten years, retreated to paths far removed from its fundamental objectives^{and} across a long, bitter history of tragedies and disasters until it was ended by the dictatorial reactionary Arifite regime which collaborated with imperialism. The July 17 Revolution, led by the Arab Baath Socialist Party, was destined to undertake simultaneously two historical tasks: The first is to complete the aspects of the national revolution which broke out on July 14, 1958, to carry on its march forward and to straighten the errors and deviations it had suffered. The second is to realize the assignments of the new stage :- the post-June 5 Defeat stage.

(3) The 7th A B S P Regional Conference in its communique issued in January 1969 had defined the nature of the stage and described it as the stage of building up a "Democratic Revolutionary Unitary System" as a fundamental and advanced stage of the legitimate struggle's stages for our people in Iraq and in the Arab homeland in quest of building up the socialist, democratic and unitary society. In its historic communique, the conference underscored the party and the Revolution's command's consciousness of the importance of cooperation among the national, nationalist and progressive Arab and Kurdish forces inside Iraq in order to accomplish the assignments of this stage - which are enormous, ramified and delicate assignments conducive to polarize fierce animosity of the imperialistic and Zionist circles as well

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categories
as various / of the local and Arab reactionary and opportunist forces. This by necessity demands the unity of the forces of struggle which have the real stake in ~~these~~ assignments, both on regional and national levels. The Arab Baath Socialist Party which led the revolutionary march ~~forward~~ for over three years looks upon the question of alliance between the national and nationalist progressive forces in Iraq and the Arab homeland from a doctrinal, strategic angle. The assignments of the revolution on the regional and national levels and the assignments of struggle against the imperialist and Zionist enemy and its local reactionary hirelings, require the ~~amassment~~ of the endeavours and energies of all national and progressive forces in the framework of a joint frontal action defined in each country by the country's own conditions. Proceeding from this doctrinal and strategic outlook, the Arab Baath Socialist Party ~~right~~ from the very first days of the July 17 Revolution, embarked upon preparing the appropriate climatic conditions for the emergence of a genuine and powerful unity among all national and nationalist progressive forces by means of the realization of the necessary objective conditions which are indispensable for the national unity.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE BAA'ATH REGIME SO FAR.

14 . Up this difficult road and in spite of the tenacity of the internal Arab and international conditions, the Revolution, under the leadership of the Arab Baath Socialist ~~Party~~, managed in the course of the last three years, to accomplish or to cross long milestones up the road of achieving the following assignments:

1. Directing a heavy and bold blow to the detachments of agents and spies ^{to} who continued for long years to impair the country and ~~to~~ expose its sovereignty and the destiny of its people and its national movements to greatest dangers. Also striking at the imperialistic and reactionary conspiracies which had aimed to over-throw the national authority and to restore the imperialist and reactionary influence in the country.
2. Contributing with capabilities available at the country's disposal, ~~to~~ the national battle against the imperialist-Zionist enemy and outstripping the imperialist conspiracies in the Arab Gulf and the ambitions of the reactionary and

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hireling Iranian Government in the Gulf and placing all available capabilities in the service of confronting them.

3. The revolution took a resolute stand against the imperialist conspiracies and schemings which aimed at dominating our oil and mineral resources, particularly the sulphur and transformed the question of the national exploitation of oil and sulphur from a mere slogan into reality. So far, the major part of the first stage of the national exploitation of oil in the Rumaila Oilfield has been completed. Iraq will begin exportation of national oil with the beginning of next year; meanwhile, the second stage (production of 18 million tons per annum) already got off to a start. Also next year, the national production of sulphur will get off to a start at the rate of 2 million tons per annum. The Revolution also managed to wrest substantial parts of our despoiled rights from the monopolistic companies operating in the country and as a result big increases have been realized in oil royalties on the way for wresting our legitimate rights in full.
4. The promulgation of revolutionary legislations concerning the agrarian question, such as abolition of the principle and right of free choice for feudalists, the free distribution of lands to peasants and the promulgation of the Agrarian Reform Law No. 117 of 1970. This law constitutes a serious and large-scale start to bring about an agrarian revolution emancipating peasantry from the yoke of the feudal system and achieving an all-out economic and social resurgence in the countryside.
5. Exerting sincere devotion for bringing about fresh and positive atmospheres in the relations between the national and nationalist progressive forces. The revolution, in its early days, chose to release all political detainees and prisoners and reinstated all of them to their previous jobs. Moreover, the Revolution recently enacted a legislation accounting for dismissal period on political grounds as service period for promotion and pension purposes.

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6. The promulgation of the Labour Law No. 151 of 1970 and the Pension and Social Security Law No. 39 of 1971. The two laws realize for the working class important progressive gains and securing for this class the freedom of unionist activity and all fundamental freedoms. The Pension and Social Security Law guarantees a dignified living for the working class within the limits of the possibilities available at the disposal of the state.
7. The Revolution under the leadership of the Arab Baath Socialist Party and in cooperation with the Kurdistan Democratic Party managed to reach a formula for the peaceful and democratic solution to the Kurdish issue as represented in the March 11 Manifesto of 1970. Since the proclamation of the Manifesto and to the date numerous major and basic clauses of it have been realized up the way of completing the implementation of all its clauses, including a self-rule for our Kurdish people within the frame-work of the Republic of Iraq.
8. The materialization of relationships between the masses and the revolutionary authority by means of the participation of the popular organizations in the discussions and study of various basic issues and the promotion of popular rallies and encouragement^{of} the popular voluntary work drives across the country. These drives yielded remarkable results as manifested in the many major agricultural projects and projects of services.
9. The provision of the suitable legislative and political conditions for the emergence of the democratic organizations in the country such as the General Federation of Peasants Associations, the General Federation of Trade Unions, the National Union of Iraqi Students, the General Federation of Women in Iraq and tens of vocational, unionist and social organizations. Also the provision of the necessary legislative and political conditions for ~~the~~^{the} emergence of organizations for our Kurdish people in accordance with March 11 Manifesto, such as the Kurdistan Youth Union, the Kurdistan Teachers Union, the Union of Kurdish Writers, the Kurdistan Students Union and other organizations.

Cont'd....

10. The preparation of the largest 5-year Development Plan ever witnessed in the history of Iraq whose appropriations reached about ID. 1000 millions. This plan seeks the realization of all-out development in agriculture, industry, communications, culture, services, public health and all the utilities of the society.
11. Effecting a large-scale economic upheaval represented in the State's perfect control over the external and internal trade, the provision of the basic commodities for citizens, also represented in completing and setting for operation of many factories whose completion had lagged behind or interrupted and the construction of new factories and expansion of other factories to raise their productive capacities. The development of agricultural conditions and setting up of serious projects and numerous cooperative and collective farms and state farms and putting into practice the slogan of 'Return to the countryside' and the employment educated manpower in farming.
12. The realization of wide and important reforms in the field of education, particularly in university institutions and high education establishments and reconsideration of the various curriculas in accordance with the principles of the national progressive revolution, encouragement of vocational education and linking educational plans to those plans related to development, the creation of large numbers of schools throughout the country and the establishment of a new University; namely, the Sulaimaniyah University.
13. The construction of cultural and health projects and services and communications projects throughout the country. The last three years have witnessed unprecedented activity in the construction or expansion of hospitals, and the construction of popular clinics as well as in building new roads and improving and multiplying all services to the benefit of citizens ^{and the} ~~1/ 1.5~~ construction of various cultural utilities.

Cont'd....

FUTURE POLICY.

15. The Arab Baath Socialist Party in presenting the National Action Charter to the attention of the masses and the national forces in this struggling country, now that the Revolution has satisfied the prerequisites for entering a new stage — in which all the people's forces are to be mobilized for confronting the imperialist-Zionist and reactionary tide and preparing for exercising popular democracy, it opens the way before all national forces to participate in deepening the revolutionary march-forward and consolidating its foundations to realize the aspirations and great hopes of our people and to transform this country into a huge arena for work and production, also to be an impregnable fortress for steadfastness, a living and genuine model for mature revolutionary action in the Arab homeland and a spring-board for the Arab Revolution.

16. There is a historic opportunity available before the national forces in the country; this opportunity is dictated by objective circumstances which place them at one trench and is demanding the condition of developing this Revolution and the thousands of potentialities and capabilities with which this country is teeming and to prepare for sacrifice and contribution. These forces can offer much to this noble people through responsible participation that responds to the stage's call. The gigantic national role laid on the shoulder of our country demands placing this country on the road of serious frontal action. The utilization of this country's resources and placing it on the road of socialism necessitates as well the cementation of national unity. Therefore, the proclamation of this charter comes as a realistic reaction to the feelings of the historic responsibility and all-out awareness of its dimensions. The leadership of the Arab Baath Socialist Party, whilst presenting this charter for discussion, hopes at the same time that all national and progressive forces and elements express sincere preparedness to overturn a new bright leaf in the history of their ambitious struggle in quest of our national and nationalist objectives.

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1. THE POLITICAL SYSTEM:

17. The political system is the legal expression for the interests and aspirations of the social classes and groups it represents. Since the Arab Baath Socialist Party represents the interests of the broadest masses from among workers, peasants and other hard-toiling groups, the political system which the party sought to build up in the stage followed the revolution it had led on July 17, 1968 is as defined by the 7th Regional Conference of the Party: a democratic, revolutionary and unitary system. This system will be a phased step up the road of realizing the democratic, socialist, unitary Arab system. The constitution which the Revolution announced on July 17, 1970 had underlined the identity of the political system stating in its first Clause: "Iraq is a Sovereign People's Democratic Republic. Its basic objective is the realization of the one Arab State and the build-up of the socialist system". The national coalition advocated by the Arab Baath Socialist Party is the broad base for this system and the lasting and dynamic power for it, deepening it and furnishing it with larger moral and material capabilities so ^{that} it can realize its assignments as set in this charter and move towards a more advanced stage on the national and nationalist levels.

18. Therefore, the nature of the system and its constitutional institutions can be defined as follows:

1. The political system built up by the July 17 Revolution under the leadership of the Arab Baath Socialist Party, and which seeks the realization of the broadest coalition among all the national, nationalist and progressive forces and elements is a democratic, popular and unitary system.

2. The political system guarantees all democratic freedoms for the people's masses and their national and progressive forces including the freedom of political parties, social and vocational organizations, trade unions, freedom of the press, opinion and belief and other fundamental freedoms, in accordance with the laws promulgated by the State.

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3. Both the legislative and executive authorities shall be exercised throughout the current transitional period by the public institutions provided for in the Interim Constitution. The National Assembly shall be formed in accordance with the provisions of the law and in the light of the principles set forth in the charter.

4. Putting into application local administration formulas and popular councils in all administrative units of the Republic of Iraq. These councils shall have the right to exercise supervision, inspection and criticism concerning the state officialdom in accordance with the law governing their formation which shall be promulgated by the Revolutionary Command Council and the National Assembly.

5. The end of the current transitional period shall be fixed after the enactment of the permanent constitution and its endorsement by a popular general plebscite. Hence, this charter regards the preparation of the permanent constitution Bill as a priority assignment of the forthcoming stage ^{which} or depends the completion of the objective conditions necessary for consolidating the democratic popular system and for building up its national institutions.

19. A. The Popular Mobilization:

The people's masses, from among workers, peasants, students and intellectuals, are the base of the Revolution and the object of its struggle. The Revolution cannot realize its phased and long-term assignments except through the road of full mobilization and ~~assessment~~ of all its capabilities for building up the revolutionary, popular and democratic society and for standing up to the imperialist, Zionist and reactionary conspiracies against our country and the Arab homeland. The organization of workers, peasants, ~~and~~ its, intellectuals, women associations, unions and federations is not only a legitimate right confirmed by this charter, but it is also a fundamental national exigency and an essential cornerstone in the new revolutionary society.

20. Therefore, the Revolution unflinchingly encourages, with all

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capabilities and energies at its disposal the labour & vocational unions, the peasants associations and the students and women organizations and all other social organizations so that they can play their vanguard, active role in expediting the revolutionary social transformation and realizing the largest possible accomplishments in all aspects of the political, economic social and cultural planes.

- 21 The Revolution regards the question of youth organization, males and females, in broad youth organizations as an exigency and a target it seeks to accomplish in order that youths may be able, within the framework of their brisk, democratic organizations, to perform their duties towards the process of revolutionary build-up and in safeguarding and developing the revolution's gains as well as in the nationalist battle of destiny against the imperialist and Zionist enemy and all those covetting any part of the Arab homeland. The Revolution regards as essential matter the large-scale participation of women in trade unions, associations and other existing institutions and it resolutely supports the women organizations so that the woman can occupy her proper place and perform her effective role in the process of revolutionary build-up and in the national battle. The Revolution, like-wise, guarantees to all women of Iraq all political, economic, social, and cultural rights enjoyed by man.

B. The Army and Armed Forces:

- 22 The slogan of establishing national armed forces was in the forefront of the requisites of popular struggle in the era of imperialist domination. When the will of our people was imposed on the imperialists and their supporters from among local rulers the national army was formed. Those imperialists and their supporters tried with all conceivable means and methods to banish the army from the people and their national and nationalist movement and transform it into an isolated establishment whose basic assignment was to protect the reactionary system

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and the imperialist interests. But the over-whelming majority of soldiers and officers composed of the sons of peasants, workers and the middle class, did not submit to the will and strategies of the imperialists and their henchmen; on the contrary, they expressed their full adherence to the aspirations of the people and their longings for freedom, progress and nationalist unity as well as their complete rejection of all forms of oppression and high-handedness. The imperialists and their reactionary henchmen failed to turn the army into an instrument in their hands to strike at the mounting national and nationalist movement. In more than one occasion across the history of our national struggle, the army expressed its allignment to the side of the demands advocated by the popular movement for liberation from the imperialist domination and from the prevalence of the reactionary, exploitationist and corrupt classes. The army's glorious two revolutions on May 5, 1941 and July 14, 1958 serves a living testimony to this effect. And, in the shed of the revolution led by the Arab Baath Socialist Party on July 17, 1968 in which the revolutionary, military regiments, a conscious and courageous part and, in this very stage - the stage of building up the democratic, revolutionary and unitary society, and of the struggle against the imperialist and Zionist enemy - the adherence of the army to the popular movement and the performance of its national and nationalist duties in a most consummate manner has been accentuated more than at any time before:

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- 23 (1.) The prime function of the army and the armed forces is defending the country, its sovereignty and its integrated unity. Besides, among its greater functions is the pioneering contribution to the nationalist struggle for the liberation of Palestine and all the usurped Arab territories, and for repelling all the conspiracies and ill ambitions aimed at any part of the Arab Homeland.

- 24 . Such enormous functions require continuous supplies of modern arms and equipment for the army, raising the combatting,

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scientific, and technological standards for all of its members, raising the alertness and discipline among its different standards and developing the military schools and institutions and building up a national military industry. It would also require particular care in the private soldier so that he will be an awakened and effective element with full prestige and health in the army whom he constitutes a basic foundation.

25(2.) As it is a fundamental part of the people and one of its pioneering detachments struggling for its freedom and advancement in all political, economic, social and cultural fields - and because of its set-up and aspirations being attached to the interests of the sweeping majority of the sons of the people; peasants, workers and the middle class, the army has the responsibility of contribution in the comprehensive national work for building up the new revolutionary society in accordance with the slogan raised by the revolution, i.e. "The Army is for War and Reconsturction," therefore, the army's contribution to the popular work drives and to all other popular efforts which are aimed at raising the economic, social and cultural standards of the masses, is one of the fundamental conditions for preserving its popular struggle and protecting it against isolatory, bureaucratic and haughty tendencies which the imperialists and their allied forces and the elements lagging behind the revolutionary transition are trying to nourish. Besides, such contribution is a great national must for the realization of advancement in the country as quick as possible and in all fields.

26(3.) To secure the army functioning its holy tasks in war and reconstruction and to insure its consolidation with the popular movement and with the interests of the masses, it requires continuous work on deepening the nationalistic, democratic and progressive feelings amidst the ranks of the army. It would also require protecting its clarity against the deviations of the adventurous cliques who think only in their private interests at the expense of the army fundamental targets and the higher interest of the people, stimulated by the imperialistic and reactionary circles who are the enemies of the people.

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27 The solidarity of the army and all the national armed forces, and their firm support of the revolution and its principles and leadership, also their firm undertaking to defend the revolution and the gains of the people against any form of aggression, conspiracy or sabotage - are fundamental and indispensable factors; and the leadership of the revolution is the only side responsible for securing such conditions.

28 As to the police and the security organizations who, before the revolution, were an immediate tool in the hands of the reactionary and dictatorial authority whose prime function was to oppress the masses and their national and nationalist progressive forces and who constituted an organization that, in conduct, contradicted the fundamental rights of the masses and their legitimate aspirations in democracy and progressiveness - today, and under the banner of the revolution and national coalition, have radically different tasks. The fundamental functions of the national police and security forces at present are to protect the safety, security and properties of citizens against any form of aggression or violation, protecting the country against the trifling of the spies, the agents and the saboteurs, and standing firmly against the counter revolutionary groups.

29. Under the banner of the revolutionary regime and national coalition, attention should be given to strengthening the relationships between the police and security organs and the masses and their national forces, and unionist and professional organizations. Care should also be given to clearing these organs from the elements who are corrupt and enemy to the targets of the revolution and its popular democratic applications, due to the nature of these elements' ideologies and interests.

30. This would require deepening the national, nationalistic and democratic education amidst the ranks of the members of these organs. It would require immense keenness on making the slogan "The Police at the service of the people", tangible in the homeland.

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C. The Administration and
Judicature

31 The revolution has inherited the state machinery from the eras of imperialistic, reactionary and dictatorial domination. Naturally, such machinery, which had been brought up in those eras, was influenced, in set up and tendencies, by the eras' interests and backwarded conditions and by their attitude hostile to the masses and their aspirations towards freedom, democracy and progressiveness..

32 However, many a disease can still be found in the state machinery, like its expansiveness, its heavy expenditure and its backwarded means and ways, also the non-democratic and non-subjective relations prevailing in it, and its tendency to disdain the masses and sitting aloof from the masses interests and fundamental aspirations.

33 Some parts of this machinery play adverse and subversive roles in the stage of revolutionary transitions and with their lagging behind such transitions and with their passive look at these transitions and its dimensions, form a basic obstacle that hinder the progress of such transitions.

34 The revolutionary stage and the unity of the national and progressive forces require radical changes in the structure of the State machinery and in its relationships with the masses and their political and social organizations. The slogan that should rule and firmly and consciously be applied is that of placing the state machinery at the service of the masses and for fulfilling their fundamental requirements. Besides, it is absolutely necessary that the state machinery should keep up with all the revolutionary and political and social, economic and cultural changes.

35 Such tasks require deepening the popular, democratic and revolutionary consciousness amidst the state machinery, and also require fighting against the bureaucratic and haughty tendencies, and liquidating all the aspects of deviation and corruption, particularly bribing and favouritism. It also

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requires continuous manning of this machinery with the national progressive elements and with the young elements who believe in the revolution and its targets, as it also requires the removal of the corrupt and disabled elements.

36 Moreover, these tasks would also require the development of the regulations of the State machinery and the work traditions, reducing red tape and generalizing the training courses. It is also necessary that subjective scientific norms be worked out for choosing and promoting the personnel, and that the service regulations be coordinated in accordance with the state's possibilities and with the requirements of development. Besides, it is necessary that necessary pre-studied practical steps be made for eliminating the aspects of disguised idleness spread due to the inflation of the administrative machinery, and that the energies surplus in this machinery be directed to productive projects which contribute to the acceleration of development and advancement in all the country's utilities in order that all the national capabilities be used in full.

37 The judicature occupies a fundamental position among the state machinery due to its tasks of establishing justice and equality among citizens, and of settling their disputes in the legal ways. Such tasks of the judicature require the development of its machinery and the removal of the anti revolution elements and improving its procedures and preserving the prestige and independence of the judicature, in accordance with the provisions of the constitution.

38 Besides, it would require reconsideration of the laws and legislations which in contradiction with the principles and targets of the revolution, and the legislation of new laws and regulations that should govern the relationships in the revolutionary society in accordance with its premises, principles and targets, and should facilitate the application of all the revolutionary programmes.

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D. The Kurdish Issue

39 The Kurdish nationalistic issue, for long years, had been on top of the greater national issues awaiting solution. Due to the issue being suspended, our people had suffered much losses and pains and its unity and the unity of the homeland was endangered.

40 The July 17 revolution, expressing the principles of the democratic and human principles of the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party, has provided wide horizons for a peaceful democratic and final settlement of this issue. The revolution's efforts, through cooperation between the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party and the Kurdistan Democratic Party, were culminated with the issuance of the historical March 11 Manifesto.

41 The March 11 Manifesto is the sound framework for securing the legitimate nationalistic rights and aspirations of our Kurdish people, including autonomy, and for securing unity of the homeland and the people and that of its progressive national and nationalist forces, on the path of struggling against imperialism, zionism and reactionary.

42 In order to continue fulfilling all the requirements of the peaceful and democratic solution of the Kurdish issue, in accordance with the spirit and provisions of the Manifesto and under the national joint work for building up the unitive revolutionary democratic society, the Charter defines the following: -

43. (1)- The alliance between the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party and the Kurdistan Democratic Party, alliance constituting the foundation stone in national coalition, is based, as to premise and far reached objectives, on the historical revolutionary alliance of destiny between the Arab and the Kurdish peoples, and in particular, the Arab and Kurdish toiling masses. It is based on these masses and

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represent their interest and reflect their legitimate aspirations and ambitions.

44/2. The Kurdish masses practicing their legitimate nationalistic rights, including autonomy, is done within their natural scope embodied through one national policy . one land and one political regime in the Iraq Republic. It is also done on the basis of accepting and believing in that Iraq is an inseparable part of the Arab Homeland, and that the potentialities of the Arab Nation and its energies and legitimate and just struggle for full liberation from imperialistic domination and Zionist usurpation, and for the realization of unity and socialism - are historical and sure guarantees for the freedom of nationalities and minorities and their legitimate rights.

45/3. The implementation of all clauses of March 11 Manifesto and acquiring all parts of a peaceful and democratic solution of the Kurdish national quest is consolidated deeply with the existing revolutionary regime and its constant development and consolidating its bases to confront plotting and intrigue, planned by imperialistic, Zionist and reactionary quarters.

46 They are also linked with the struggle for the liquidation of suspicious and adventurous forces and elements, moving under the direction of the above-mentioned quarters.

47 The relationship between the popular, democratic and national revolution, heading towards the attainment of unity and socialism, consolidated by the alliance of the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party and the Kurdish Democratic Party and the union of all progressive national and nationalist forces with the peaceful and democratic solution of the Kurdish question is an indivisible dialectical relationship.

48 Any partitional outlook to such relationship is liable to serve at the end imperialistic, Zionist, and reactionary schemings to strike at the revolution and devastate our Kurdish people's expectations to practise its legitimate national rights.

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4. The revolutionary transitions in all political, economic, social, and cultural fields in the direction of implementating the tasks of popular democratic stage before the attainment of socialism, as well as the justification of the interests of peasants, workers and toiling masses of the people are but objective assurances of a peaceful and democratic solution of the Kurdish question and to consolidate its progressive content.

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5. The responsibility of fulfilling March 11 Manifesto and the justification of a peaceful, democratic solution of the Kurdish question does not depend on one party, rather than it is a common national responsibility that no national party can shun and give it up.

51 The ideological and permanent political struggle against chauvinist, isolationist, superior, and cessionistic elements and trends is a fundamental condition to safeguard the peaceful, democratic solution of the Kurdish question, and its development on one hand, and to safeguard national unity and revolutionary transitions aiming at the attainment of national and nationalist goals on the other.

2.

National Economy

52 Throughout pre-revolution stage, national economy was characterized with many features, in the forefront of which the dependence of most of its sectors on imperialist monopolies and states, and its foundation on these bases securing interests of exploiting feudalistic and bourgeois classes on the account of the bad-trodden majority of people. It was also characterised with backwardness in all fields, instability of economic policies and their contraventions, and mounting of recessions and malversation and backwardness of the economic machinery.

53 All attempts to emancipate national economy, organising it, and establishing it on scientific, progressive bases were instable and incomplete attempts, threatened to retreat as a result of the former regimes' nature and their aggressive policies against people and its progressive national and nationalist forces.

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54 The stage of evolution and the establishment of a national alliance requires active and resolute effort to achieve tasks of this stage based on building national economy through a unitive scope, which puts down bases and onsets of a basis of a full-fledged Arab economic policy, that will be put as a whole at the service of popular struggle against imperialism and zionism. Also, the tasks of this stage are to be based on the notion that capitalist development course is rejected not only in principle, but also as an incapacitating course to justify tasks of emancipating national economy, and its setting on well-built up bases and to secure prosperity to all countrymen.

55 The economic path to which the revolution is adhered necessitated by premises and requirements of the popular democratic stage and the necessities towards attaining socialism and requirements of the national battle of destiny.

56 The coming stage requires the accomplishment of elementary tasks in economy, including:

1. Steady progress, according to well-studied scientific plan, to emancipate fully national economy with all its sectors from the fetters of foreign dependency.
2. The building up of a full-fledged and varified national economy, to be careful to keep the country away from unilateral economy, designed by imperialist states and monopolies, and to achieve self-reliance in all possible sectors.
3. The creation of efficient, specialised, and active economic apparatuses which can attain to national and revolutionary objectives, and work diligently and accurately to apply them.
4. To work for the achievement of economic unity and to support Arab Common market.
5. To place national and nationalist interest as the foundations of any form of economic cooperation and dealing with foreign countries, and to work for developing economic relations with friendly and socialist countries according to such foundation.

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6. Securing prosperity to all masses of the people, especially peasants, workers, and toiling groups, liquidating all aspects and methods of exploitation and class coercion, and achieving justice among all countrymen.

7. The public sector is the foundation stone of the national economy in all its branches, whether in agriculture, industry, commerce or services. The state takes over the responsibility of steering the economic activity and lays down the principles and laws regulating it. The first of the conditions in the national economic work is to expand the public sector and bolster it in all capabilities which would promote its efficiency and power to realise the duties of the existing stage and the duties of transition to socialism.

57 The private sector is still capable to play positive roles in building the national economy. It is essential to support this sector through the directions and cooperation of the public sector in accordance with the conditions, programmes and laws legislated by the state on the basis of this charter.

58 The mixed sector, which is organised by the State, also plays its positive role in building the national economy and arrangements should be made to select the economic branches to be entrusted with this sector.

59/8. The requirements of economic development require the participation of the Arabic capital in all the projects in which it may take part as specified by the state. Sufficient guarantees should be given for the participation of these capitals, public and private, in the national economy.

(A) Oil and Minerals

60 Oil, at this stage, constitutes the main source in the country's economy and plays a crucial role in determining its political and economic future. Because of this exceptional importance of oil in our life, the monopolistic foreign companies played serious roles in threatening the independence of the country

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and in conspiring against its national and progressive forces and against the peoples inspirations to achieve freedom and progress.

61 The strategic target of the revolution would naturally be the full liberation of oil wealth from foreign domination and exploitation, and to submit them under all aspects of national sovereignty, put them completely in the service of peoples welfare and to make of them a crucial tool of struggle against imperialism and Zionism.

62 To achieve these objectives, the earnest and scientific work requires constant and permanent perpetuity in the national oil policy adopted by the revolution which aims first at building a vast, strong and integral oil industry.

63 The duty of building the national oil industry requires to support this sector in all appropriate material and human potentials, to develop the institutes and establishments which would secure the cadres that are needed in oil industry and to cooperate with social and friendly states.

64 The charter reaffirms the necessity of keeping on the policy of wresting our rights from the monopolistic companies whether in action through Arab and International organisations or through the arrangements and legislations of the authority.

65 Foremost amongst the targets of this policy is to secure the participation of the state in the capitals of the oil companies operating in our country and to take part in their administration as well as planning the production for the utility of our national interests and increasing the cost of oil and revenues.

66 Adopting the same procedure in the field of oil policy, the charter attaches great importance to continue the exploitation of minerals nationally and directly.

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67. The establishment of a vast mineral industry is a basic element in the operation of building a diversified and integrated national economy which would realise progress and enables the country to fully control its economic resources to put them under the service of its domestic and national interests and causes.

B. The Agricultural Wealth

68 The revolution is responsible in affecting a radical change in all political, economic, social and cultural principles and relations for the benefit of liberation and progress movement. Country and agricultural sector stand at the front of the sectors which require fast and crucial change owing to the sufferings from miserable and backwarded conditions, and it constitutes the major sector of the people.

69 The countryside in our home needs an overwhelming revolution which would liquidate the economic, tribal and sectarian relations and all values of backwardness inherited from ages of slavery and which were spread during the monopolistic feudalistic underdeveloped regime. The radical agrarian reform initiated by the revolution in the country is not but a start of the revolution's events which transfer the country of its underdeveloped conditions to developed ones.

70 The achievement of radical agrarian reform requires, in order to reach the overwhelming agricultural revolution, a vast range and constant continuity in the arrangements taken by the revolution to liquidate the feudalistic ownerships and to distribute the lands over the farmers, to provide them with seeds, fertilizers, machines, loans and to complete major irrigational and drainage projects to increase the space of the arable land and to improve its production. It also requires to spread wide-range enlightenment and to provide material conditions to stop migration from country to the city and to expand the counter-emigration and to encourage educated youths to work in the country amongst the fundamental necessities to create the required revolutionary changes in the country is to combat illiteracy amongst farmers, to include agriculture as a main subject in education, to generalize agricultural schools and institutes and to

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establish institutes and laboratories specialized in agricultural services.

71 The sound and developed framework to realise the agricultural revolution and to raise the standard of living to the farmer masses and to increase the production in accordance with the requirements of the national economy, is the state farms, collective farms and farmers co-operatives which are being generalized in all parts of the country of our home.

C. The Industry

72 Industry is considered a fundamental base of civilisation progress at this age and it is one of the conditions for transition to socialism. Colonialists and their local allies tried to hinder the establishment of an active and powerful national industry for two main reasons: (1) to keep on backwardness situations in our country so that it continuously remains a market for the disposal of the goods manufactured in imperialistic states and (2) to avoid the formation of a large working class. When the national will and subjective conditions imposed the establishment of national industry, the imperialists attempted in different ways to make it a "subordinate" to the imperialistic markets and to restrict it within the complementary and consumption framework.

73 The revolution faces today in the field of Industry two major duties, (1) the completion, the successfulness, the development and expansion of the existing industries and (2) building a wide and varied industrial base so as to become a support for national independence and a base for political, economic and social development proceeding towards socialism.

74 As economy in the country of Iraq depends in principle on two important bases, oil and agriculture, it is natural, therefore, for the industrialization operation to be directed for the achievement of mutual connection between them and between these two bases.

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75 The main duties for industrialization in our country are the establishment and development of mining and petrochemical industries and the construction of industries which depend on agricultural materials produced in the country. This will also necessitate the establishment of industries which provide oil, minerals and agricultural sectors with their requirements for tools and equipment.

76 The duty of building a powerful national industry capable to perform its duties in our patriotic and national battles on one hand and in achieving the well being for the masses on the other hand, require the earnestness to create a sound balancing between heavy and production industries without which it is not possible to set down the bases of an independent powerful national industry and between the consumer industries which fulfills the citizens requirements with great care to increase and affect development and not to exaggerate consumer economy.

77 Amongst the fundamental conditions which accompany the overwhelming operation of industrialization is the expansion of power industry particularly the High tension electric power.

78 The public sector in industry is the base on which lies the responsibility of leading the private and mixed sectors. The revolution has to support this sector with all required capabilities and to expand it as far as possible. Owing to the country's need to quick growth and to share the citizens in building operations, the participation of the private sector in industrial programmes particularly in petty complementary and consumer industries is a very essential question and the state has to encourage it and provide it with all conditions and guarantees for its success.

79 The work to expand democratic management in industrial and production installations through the expansion of participation of workers in the Boards of Administration in a way which would secure the increase and development of production and lay down sound working relations, is one of the objectives endeavoured by the revolution so as to provide the country with educated, active and faithful cadres to direct this vital sector.

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80 The completion of these duties requires the development of the machinery of the public sector in industry and the development of machinery of industrial planning, as well as the increase of industrial school and institutes and to seek the help of all national and Arab expertise and those of the socialist and friendly countries.

D. Commerce

81 The commercial sector occupies a vitally important position due to its fundamental relations with the question of national economy and national independence on one hand and for being the responsible sector to provide consumer needs to the people on the other hand.

82 The line to be adopted in commercial policy is to submit the internal and foreign trades to the requirements of the national independence self-sufficiency, the development plan and to fix the trade movement within the directions of its transition from a mediator monopolistic, greedy sector to a fundamental circuit of an integrated and developed national economy aiming at serving the people. This requires to proceed on a way which achieves the objectives of complete nationalization of foreign trade and wholesale trade and to make the import and export policy subject to the requirements of development and highest national interests.

83 While the revolution is keen in protecting the interests of the toiling masses and in securing the suitable living standards and in liquidating all phenomenon of monopoly, greediness and blackmailing, it is at the same time keen to protect the interests of small and middle merchants and it considers that the private sector is capable in the field of trade to play a positive role if it is placed within the frame of public utility and higher national interest.

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84 The charter calls for the support of the public sector of trade and to maintain it with all means of success, development and expansion so that it could be able to play its role in the operation of fostering the national economy and building a strong economic base in providing the commodities to citizens at suitable prices, far from fluctuation /ⁱⁿ prices and away from crisis which are arranged by monopolistic avarice and the enemies of the people.

(E). The Financial Policy

85 During the past years, the financial policy was disturbed, improvised and disconnected from the masses interests and their basic domestic and national causes. In order that the financial policy may play its fundamental role in building the unitive peoples democratic system, it should be based on clear and permanent scientific adherence to the people's fundamental interests and their domestic and national causes of destiny, in guiding the means of expenditure from the budget towards the national defence affairs, development, Education, Health, Social Securities and general services.

86 The charter deems it necessary to reconsider the taxation policy to ensure adopting of a just procedure of taxes and to reduce the indirect taxation on production commodities, drugs and main consumer materials.

87 The charter also considers necessary to take any action that creates an insurance enlightenment to the masses to deepen their feeling in participating to build the society.

3. Social Objectives

88 Throughout ages of foreign domination, class persecution, and control of corrupt groups and dictatorship, anomalous circumstances and dangerous ills pervaded in our community, crippled masses' capability in work, production and creation, and strained them with fetters of injustice and backwardness.

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87 The slogan to eliminate poverty, ignorance and disease was one of the major slogans in our struggle on both the regional and national levels. The slogan is still one of the great objectives of the revolution, which seeks to justify a radical and an all-out change in the social conditions, as part of a unitive-socialistic-democratic scope.

90 The premise of a change sought by the revolution is the deep faith in masses and their creative role in history-making and building up human civilization. Therefore, the revolution under common national work to build the new revolutionary society, seeks to secure all necessary social conditions to safeguard the citizens liberty and pride, to enable him of work, production and creation, and to set him free from all those fetters that incapacitate his capabilities and human expectations. These tasks confronting the revolution in this direction can be summarized as follows:

1. Work is to be considered as a right and duty of any citizen who can undertake it, and eliminating entirely all forms of unemployment.
2. Social security is to be made available to all countrymen, and to secure decent life for them within a plan that keeps pace with the revolution's advancement and the state's capabilities.
3. To secure health care, medicine, to protect countrymen from diseases, and to consider man's life as a fundamental value that must be protected by all means within the framework of a developing scientific plan that keeps pace with the state's capabilities at each stage.
4. To propagate all branches of education among all countrymen, to link it with its planned form with the objectives of evolution and development as well as with national and nationalist causes, and to base it on foundations that secure raising up a generation according to the requirements of the revolution's objectives and expectations of popular masses, within the scope of Democratic-Socialist-Unitive relations and values.

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The aim of the revolution at its present stage is to implement its plan in compulsory education in the level of primary school upto the two successive stages: Intermediate and secondary. To eliminate illiteracy is one of the basic conditions to achieve a radical change in social situations towards progress. The revolution made endeavours to speed up operations to eradicate illiteracy, but this task is still in need of more efforts and energies. The popular organisations, students and educated classes, bear the responsibility of wide-scope participation to complete them as soon as possible.

5. To provide suitable hygienic accommodation for all citizens according to the requirements of the stage and the state's capabilities. At the present stage, the revolution aims at fixing rental charges in a form which suits the income of the citizen and protects him from avarice and monopoly. It also aims at encouraging the social cooperative organisations which work to provide accommodation for their members. The state is responsible basically in building large residential units all over the country in which health conditions, communications, education and security will be available.

6. Woman who has suffered all types of slavery, monopoly and backwardness in line with our people has in addition suffered bad conditions which deprived her of her humanity and hindered her free and bright participation in human life. Therefore, the special care to transfer the women to new positions is a basis target of the social transition operation.

91 The liberation of woman from the feudalistic and bourgeois thinking and from the conditions and terms under which she was a sheer leisure or a citizen of the second class, is a sacred home and national duty for which one should struggle faithfully and keenly.

92 Our society which faces the tasks of struggle against imperialism, Zionism, reactionary and retardness and against the perils converging our destiny, should not be deprived of the active role which the woman could play as she represents half of the society.

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→ The liberation of the women from all shackles and obstacles is the correct augury to build up a new generation capable of bearing its home and national responsibilities.

(4) Culture, Arts and Information

93 Culture, arts and information are amongst the best yields of the human civilisation and a best means of activeness and effectiveness devised by man to express his social situation, feeling, inspiration and expectation. Each stage of man's development has its own culture, information and arts, by virtue of the dialectical link between these branches and the social, economic and political system practised by man. It is, therefore, natural and legal for the new revolutionary system to have its own culture, information and arts which express its principles and positions of his expectations and inspirations.

94 Revolutionary culture, information and arts are born in the old community's womb and strive to express themselves and to occupy the effective positions among the masses ranks. When the old community collapsed, and the revolution takes over power it has to consecrate its decisive and full victory upon the cultures, arts and information of the old community. Then the relationship between the culture, information and arts of the old community and the new revolution community becomes an argumentative relationship for two aspects: First: The conscious and alive tie of deep historic development outlook of heritage. Second: The ambition to make new information, culture and arts expressing fully the situations of the new community, its requirements, feelings and aspirations.

95 The current stage, the stage of building the Democratic Revolutionary unitive community to reach socialism, provides the following frameworks and tasks in the fields of culture, arts and information.

1. The Revolution information, culture and arts are those which dart from the national democratic socialist outlook interactioned, in general, with the humanitarian culture and, in particular, with

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progressiveness. It also must have an alive tie with the masses and their interests, problems, sentiments, and aspirations, with respect to the freedom of choice of expression forms and styles and keeping subsistences of creativeness.

2. The conscious decisive struggle against thoughts, theories, trends and styles which promote for sectarianism, chauvinism, racialism, regionalism and the spirit of defeat and liberalism, serving imperialists and their pillars of feudalists and bourgeois and all enemies of the revolution; and purging cultural and informational establishments of these elements and of those who believe in them and promote for them directly or indirectly.

3. Preserving the Arab heritage, and finding out all the humanitarian and progressive meanings in it; taking care in spreading it among the masses and in the world, also taking great care of the humanitarian heritage of the civilization of Mesopotamia and the Kurdish national heritage and folkloric characteristics of all national minorities in the country.

4. Providing possibilities to build high institutions of Arts, culture and information and developing them continuously to keep in pace with the spirit of the time and its progress, and spread them on a large scale among the masses, supply them with the efficiencies believing in the revolution and its thoughts and aspiration; benefitting from all national, Arab and international experience in these fields.

5. Struggling against passive outlook towards cultural, artistic and Informational work, and raising the social status and living standard of those working in these vanguard fields, and encouraging the youth to participate in them.

6. Universities nowadays play an important and vital role in the life of communities as one of the important means of spreading knowledge and preparing scientific cadres of different specialisations.

76 In our country, these establishments have a special role of keeping up with the revolutionary process and supporting it to fulfil all the requirements of social changes for the benefit of the national struggle. On this basis, the charter sees it important to

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support Universities and institutions of scientific research in the direction which would conform with the masses' aspirations of speeding up the operations of social and economic transition to set up the united peoples' democratic society upto socialism. This will only be arranged through the "purging" of these institutions from all agonistic right-wing and liberal trends who are against ^{the} revolution's ideology and against its progress and through the reform of university educational curricula in a form which would conform with the revolution's premises and programmes in development and the dire need to develop and expand the scientific and technological studies.

(5) The Arab Policy

97 The revolution's policy in the Arab field emanates and is defined from its unitive, progressive, people's democratic identity and from its belief in socialism. The historic duty of the revolution is to participate fully, actively and vanguardly in the movement of Arab struggle in achieving its objectives which are summed up in building the unified, Arab socialist, democratic society.

98 As a means of expression of this policy and to realize its objectives, the Charter sees:

1. To launch an all-out, resolute struggle using all methods against imperialism, its influence, interests and strongholds, to liberate every span of the Arab land, & challenge strongly their direct and indirect attempts for infiltration into the Arab Homeland.
2. To firmly challenge any foreign attempt aiming at wresting any part of the Arab homeland or imposing their domination on it or splitting it. As the Arab Gulf today is exposed to continuous attempts schemed by the imperialistic quarters and the Shah-of-Iran stooge government to obliterate its Arabism and to wrest some parts of it, the struggle against these attempts is, therefore, considered a sacred domestic and national duty.

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3. To struggle by all means to achieve the all-out Arab unity on liberal, democratic, popular basis, provided that the masses should be the active tool in making the historic unity. Also to struggle against forged forms of unity and to expose it as it aims to strike the essence of unity and forms a means of plotting against it.

4. The question of liberation of Palestine from Zionist occupation is a central cause in the Arab struggle. It is dialectically connected with the struggle for liberation, unity and building of socialism and on the basis of the right of Palestinian people to go back to its liberated land to practise its full right in determining its destiny. This means the denunciation of all surrender solutions and projects aiming at the liquidation of the Palestinian cause through partial settlements.

5. To achieve these major national duties the Arab masses are required to gather within active forms of struggle. The popular armed struggle, particularly on the Palestinian front, and wherever necessary in all other parts of the Arab homeland, is an indispensable and prime method.

6. To realise the unity of joint action between all revolutionary and progressive national forces whether officially or publicly in the Arab homeland and inside the country to provide the biggest and more active energies of struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reactionary.

7. To support the revolutionary changes in the Arab countries and to bolster the liberal and national progressive movements in support of the objectives of the Arab struggle and deepen its historic procession.

(6) Foreign Policy

99 The foreign policy of the revolution emerges from its progressive identity against imperialism and is defined on this basis. It also emanates from the belief that 17th July Revolution —

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and the revolution in the Arab homeland — is a vital & active part of the international revolution against imperialism. During the past stages, the revolution expressed its identity in the international field, in full and earnest alignment to the camp of struggling people against imperialism, aggression and apartheid, backing liberation movements and progressive forces in every part of the world, and consolidating relations with them and with the socialist countries. Among the salient outlooks of this undertaking was the expansion of political, economic, and cultural relations with the socialist countries, the recognition of the German Democratic Republic, the Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, and the government of National Unity in Cambodia, and supporting all struggling forces for liberty and progress in the world.

100 Proceeding from this stand, the charter stresses the following in foreign policy:

1. The resolute adherence to the policy of struggle against world imperialism, the rejection of all forms of dependence, and support of nations' right in self-determination, and condemnation of aggression, usurpation, and racial discrimination policies.
2. Resistance of aggressive pacts, designs, and military groupings as well as imperialistic policies threatening security and safety of nations and endangering world peace.
3. Consolidating relations with the peoples and governments of the socialist camp in a manner securing mutual interests, and elevating the balance of world struggle to defeat imperialism and exterminate its influence.
4. Consolidating and developing relations with national and nationalist liberation movements especially in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and with all liberation movements in the world in general, including progressive labour and popular movements in Europe and the United States of America.
5. Setting up cooperation and friendship relations with all states who adopt positive stand towards our national and nationalist causes and interests.

/YK/MM.

ME/3844/71

20 November 1971

A. THE ARAB WORLD AND ISRAEL

M (48)

President Bakr's Press Conference of 17th November

Baghdad home service 21.00 GMT 18.11.71

Text of report read by announcer:

Baghdad: President Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr this evening met representatives of the world, Arab and local press. The press conference, the fourth to be held by President Bakr since assuming responsibility on 17th November 1968, was attended by the Foreign Minister, Murtada Sa'id Abd al-Baqi; the Information Minister, Shafiq al-Kamali; and more than 160 correspondents representing world and Arab press agencies, who arrived in Baghdad in the past two days.

At the outset of the conference, which was held at 18.00 tonight, President Bakr welcomed and thanked the journalists, saying: I thank you for coming to Baghdad, the capital of Iraq, and for putting up with the hardships of travel. We want you to learn and feel what is going on in Iraq in order to refute the lies spread by certain biased information media against Iraq and its policy. Undoubtedly, there are questions which interest you. You will be given full answers to these questions. The President then answered journalists' questions.

Answering a question from the Baghdad 'Al-Jumhuriyah', he said: Our vigilant policy aims at defending the independence of our country and protecting its main resources. Our oil policy represents a studied course which will finally ensure the country's sovereignty over its wealth and bar the road to monopolist pressures.

Iraq has managed to wrest some of its oil rights. We base our oil policy on a fundamental fact, the role of oil in defending the country's freedom and independence. As for the oil industry, good and important steps have been made in this field. The state is interested in developing the oil industry through the National Oil Company and in absorbing all potential for industrialization. The liberation of oil wealth constitutes a part of the liberation of all the national economy from foreign subservience and control to complete the prerequisites for political independence.

The liberation of our oil requires the building of an Iraqi oil industry and the direct national exploitation of oil without depending entirely on oil resources in determining the country's economy. It is also essential to achieve co-ordination and co-operation with the Arab oil exporting states and with the OPEC states to confront the plans of the monopolist oil companies.

The President warned the oil companies operating in Iraq against the failure of negotiations, saying: The Iraqi Government wants to resolve all the issues with the oil companies operating in Iraq by negotiation and in a manner which will in no way harm the laws in force, the sovereignty of the state over its natural resources, and the country's legitimate rights, provided that the companies' actions do not conflict with the supreme interest of the Iraqi national economy and the national development plan. However, if the Government becomes convinced that the way to negotiation on these fundamentals has reached a dead end or if negotiations are held and fail, the Government will not permit the present situation to continue as it is and reaffirms that it will take all the measures necessary to protect the interest of the Iraqi national economy and the country's legitimate rights. The consequences will be borne by the companies.

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Answering a question by the Iraqi News Agency and the Lebanese magazine 'Al-Hawadith' on the Kurdish question and self-rule for the Kurdish people, President Bakr said: The conditions necessary for the application of self-rule are the implementation of the 11th March Manifesto and the liquidation of all alien conditions and signs which resulted from the fighting between the brothers in the past. The natural framework for the exercise of self-rule as defined by the charter is unity of domestic (Arabic: wataniyah) policy, territorial integrity, unity of the political system in the Iraqi Republic and full adherence to the National Action Charter. The Ba'th Party and the Kurdish Democratic Party have agreed to apply self-rule within four years or when Arab unity is established between Iraq and another Arab country.

Answering a question on the National Action Charter and the national front from the newspapers 'At-Ta'akhi' and 'Baghdad Observer', the magazines 'Ar-Rasid' and 'Wa'i al-Ummal', the Beirut paper 'An-Nida', the Kuwait paper 'Al-Yaqazah' and the agencies CTK and AP, he said: The 17th July 1968 revolution was the beginning of a new era of freedom and openness for the people and the other political groups. In a series of immediate measures the Revolution Command decided to close political prisons, release political detainees and prisoners of various inclinations and ideologies, and close the horrible political detention camps such as Nuqrat as-Salman and other places. It also quickly reinstated them in their jobs and institutes and counted their periods in prison, detention, and dismissal for promotion and retirement purposes.

The Revolution Command decided to prepare a suitable atmosphere for the emergence of a strong national (Arabic: watani) alliance through political amity which was achieved at the level of professional organizations and through the 11th March Manifesto, which lay the foundations of the nucleus of a front capable of expanding on various sides and in various dimensions. As stressed by the National Action Charter, the alliance of the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party and Kurdish Democratic Party is a front formula and is the cornerstone of the national (Arabic: watani) alliance to which we aspire.

There will be room in the national front for all the domestic (Arabic: wataniyah), national (Arabic: qawmiyah) and progressive elements who accept the National Action Charter which will be tantamount to a general programme for the front after the charter is approved in its final form and after completion of the democratic discussion and free debate on it by the masses and their patriotic and progressive forces through the various information services. The National Action Charter points out that the responsibility for implementing the provisions of the March Manifesto does not fall on one side only and that it is a joint national duty. Therefore the alliance of the patriotic and progressive forces within the framework of the charter will expedite the implementation of the few remaining provisions of the historic manifesto which the charter describes as the sound framework ensuring the rights and legitimate national aspirations of our Kurdish people.

To arrive at a formula for a wide alliance of the domestic, national and progressive forces in the Iraqi region will be a manifestation of the resolutions approved by the national and regional congresses of the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party. The picture of this alliance is bound to reflect on the national (Arabic: qawmi) scene and to contribute to the crystallization of unified attitudes for all the patriotic and progressive forces in the Arab homeland.

The national alliance experiment in Iraq will be an example and a door for other alliances in the rest of the Arab countries where such organizations exist.

Answering a question from 'At-Ta'akhi', the 'Baghdad Observer', the Lebanese papers 'Lisan al-Hal' and 'Bayrut', and the magazine 'Al-Ahad' on the formula of the popular unionist struggle cited in the charter, he said: This struggle formula means complete liberation of the toiling masses by putting their direct interests in the first

place and by securing a political framework and ensuring rights in order to cherish, protect and develop these interests. Of course, to strengthen the struggle against imperialism and reaction is a main prerequisite for this liberation. The popular organizations and their role in the organization of building and development is a basic factor in our policy in all fields.

Answering a question on the measures which will follow the proclamation of the National Action Charter to transform it into an active applicable formula, the President said: Dialogue and discussions in an atmosphere of democracy and responsibility, as we have said, are a guarantee for turning the charter into an applicable formula.

Regarding the political parties which will be able to work openly, President Bakr said: The national parties and forces which consider the National Action Charter as a strategy of action for unifying the common duties are the forces concerned for whom all guarantees for political activity and the practice of journalism are being prepared. The vocational and social organizations and the trade unions play an important role in achieving a national coalition and establishing it on a firm popular base.

Answering a question on the removal of Vice-President Salih Mahdi Ammash, and the Foreign Minister, Abd al-Karim ash-Shaykhli, and whether this had any connection with Iraq's support for the unsuccessful coup in Sudan, the President said: The removal of Ammash and Shaykhli was explained at the time. The revolution makes a reshuffle among or a new arrangement in the positions of the party and revolution members according to the dictates of its march. The interest of the party, revolution and the masses determine the command in the party and the authority. Whenever such an interest requires amendments, we introduce these amendments in an atmosphere of objective frankness, criticism and self-criticism. This is actually what takes place. This change has nothing to do with what happened in Sudan.

Commenting on a question connected with the freedom of the press in Iraq, the President said: The laws in force regulate the freedom of the press. There is no freedom against the interest of the revolution and the masses. The press of the forces in coalition within the framework of the charter will play its role fully. Through discussion in its pages, it will contribute to the accomplishment of the duties of the period of transition to socialism and to expediting social changes we aspire to.

Answering a question by the Lebanese paper 'Al-Bayraq' on what His Excellency means by the liberation of the national economy from the bonds of foreign subservience and whether it is possible to achieve the self-sufficiency mentioned in the charter, the President said: What we mean by the liberation of the national economy from the bonds of foreign subservience is to reach an economic ground from which to defend and strengthen political independence. The main character of the Iraqi economy before the revolution was its subservience to the world imperialist economy. We not only condemn every form of economic subservience but also understand the question of self-sufficiency and all its requirements. We reject an economy based on one source (Arabic: wahid al-janib) and seek to create balance and self-sufficiency in all possible branches.

Arab capital can contribute to building the domestic economy on the basis of our consideration that the domestic (Arabic: watani) economy is the nucleus of the national (Arabic: qawmi) economy. We as an Arab party cannot have a sensitivity on the popular and official levels about Arab capital. On the contrary, we consider Arab capital to be of special value and we must provide it with guarantees based on the national principles of the revolution, its motives, march and results.

He said that a comprehensive plan to develop all the Arab states is a historic aim, but that its realization under present conditions is almost impossible because of the difference in the political policies of the regimes and in their structures, which preclude the formulation of a comprehensive development plan quickly. Comprehensive development which will correspond to the main interests of the masses and provide the needs of national defence depends on political conditions first and last.

Commenting on a question from the paper 'At-Ta'akhi' saying the charter has attached the army command to the Revolution Command Council alone and asking what the position of the current council regarding the Kurdish Democratic Party members is, the President said: The responsibility of leading the army and directing it politically falls on the Revolution Command alone. There will be no front formula or party organization other than the Ba'th Party organization in the army or the armed forces. There might be some individuals who belong to certain political movements. We accept them in the army in their capacity as military men and not in their party or political capacity. No party other than the Ba'th Party will be allowed to carry out any forms of political or organizational activity inside the armed forces.

Asked how women's political, social, and cultural rights would be secured, as provided for in the National Charter, to achieve the Arab Ba'th Party's belief in the complete liberation of women, the President said: The National Action Charter has devoted a noticeable interest to women, their liberation and guaranteeing their full political, economic, social and cultural rights. The Charter also stressed that the organization of the country's women was a lawful right and a national necessity so that they might assume their duties in the revolutionary building operation and in the Pan-Arab battle. He said that women would take part in the National Assembly just as a woman was now participating in the Cabinet. Women were now assuming their role in the masses' action and in the economic and cultural fields without discrimination. He said that the Party Command and the revolution had an equal humanitarian view concerning women, granting her the same rights and giving her the same duties.

Answering a question by the Baghdad newspaper 'Ath-Thawrah' and the Lebanese magazine 'Kul Shay' about the people's councils, how these would be formed and their jurisdictions, the President said: Our constant aim is to increase participation in responsibility. The Charter stressed the need to implement the local government formula. The people's councils, as provided for in the Charter, will have the right to supervise, criticize and control the appropriate state departments. About 20 days ago certain organizations of the Party in Baghdad began to implement the people's councils formula. The Party Command has instructed its various organizations to circulate this formula to all areas in the capital and in other provinces. The councils, a new experiment in our country, require objective conditions to grow and reach the level defined in the Charter.

We shall begin with the first phase: Appointing prominent popular elements known for their patriotism, honesty and their link with the masses to these councils in each area. The councils will be advisory until the necessary conditions are available to move on to a new advanced phase in which these councils will be elected by the people and will exercise their various jurisdictions in accordance with the law forming them.

The President reaffirmed Iraq's views regarding Arab conferences. Answering a question about the Arab Foreign Minister's conference recently held in Cairo and if it had been successful, he said: The success of any Arab conference in this critical phase of our nation is attached to any binding resolutions and to the response these resolutions may receive from the Arab masses, particularly the Palestinian people.

We view the success of any conference by the amount of fresh progress it can achieve in the Palestinian question and the formula of unified confrontation against the enemy. Proceeding from this principle, the resolutions of the recent Arab Foreign Ministers' conference were not up to the desired level, despite the several positive aspects they contained.

We hope our participation in Arab conferences at various levels will effectively contribute towards the mobilization and massing of Arab resources to secure the desired objective regarding the imperialist and Zionist attack.

To a question from the Lebanese magazine 'Al-Hawadith' regarding the possibility of normalizing relations between Iraq and Syria, particularly since the Iraqi Minister of Unity had visited the Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad a few days ago, the President said: The fraternal Syrian region is living through the events of the 5th June Pan-Arab setback.

While we consider the liberation of Syrian territory and all occupied Arab territory as a historic attitude, our effective participation is inevitable. Our relations with the Syrian regime and with other Arab regimes aim at mobilizing the Arab resources for the battle of steadfastness and liberation.

Answering a question by the Kuwaiti newspapers 'As-Siyasah' and 'Ar-Ra'y al-Amm' regarding a possible Iraqi initiative in relation to the border with Kuwait, he said: Our relations with any Arab state are Pan-Arab relations. No problem outside the framework of principled views on the fateful Arab questions exist between us and any Arab states. Regarding the good relations with fraternal Kuwait, we are ready to study any question with a Pan-Arab spirit to achieve the interests of the Arab people in both fraternal countries, Iraq and Kuwait.

To a question from the Lebanese magazines 'Al-Hawadith' and 'Al-Jumhur, AFP and the Lebanese Television Company about the reasons that led Iraq to withdraw its army from the eastern front, Iraq's conditions for returning to the front and about the advanced formula Iraq proposed to make the eastern front more effective and highly positive, the President said: We have repeatedly proclaimed our views on the question of the eastern front. We said that the front must be founded on the basis of the pan-Arabism of the battle and on the basis that there should be an actual battle. At the first Tripoli conference in June 1970 we proposed a complete plan for liberation. It contained an effective formula for the eastern front. As regards our army's withdrawal from Jordan, we did not withdraw from the battle but from the climate of no-battle and from the conditions undermining our army in order to keep it away from its basic mission of fighting the Zionist enemy and consequently to implement plans against the revolution in the Iraqi region. We still believe in the need to set up the eastern front in accordance with the conditions we proposed at the first Tripoli conference. Iraq is fully prepared to fulfil its pan-Arab commitments. However, we shall definitely not allow our army on the eastern front or in any other place to be used as an instrument for passing on the so-called peaceful solutions.

Commenting on a question whether the Party Command and the state had set conditions for alliances in other Arab countries similar to those alliances which have and are taking place in the Iraqi region, as a basis for the establishment of any unity or union between two or more countries, the President said: We believe that national unity in any Arab country is a firm springboard towards unity or union among the Arab countries. The success of the national coalition experiment in Iraq should contribute toward the success of similar coalition experiments in other Arab countries. These coalition experiments, if they succeed, will produce the broadest popular mobilization which is true material and concept for pan-Arab unity.

Linking national unity to Arab unity explains the extent of our concern to discharge the national and pan-Arab duties with a view to asserting the physical tie between them.

To another question about Iraq's views with relation to the Middle East crisis and its attitude to the pan-Arabism of the battle, the President said: Iraq has explained its views with relation to the Middle East crisis. Iraq has pointed out the aggressive character of the Israeli presence and the role of world imperialism and Zionism in occupying Arab Palestine and dispersing its people and in creating constant tension in the area in favour of the Israeli expansionist logic at the expense of the Arab people and their land. We have repeatedly affirmed that the effects of the aggression cannot be easily eliminated, because the bases for the foundation of the Israeli entity are primarily a strong aggression against the Palestinian people and their rights in their homeland. The aggressive character of the Israeli entity is being daily established by much continuous evidence. Regarding our attitude to the pan-Arabism of the battle, we have raised this slogan since the Israeli aggression is not only against the Palestinian people but has also extended to the occupation of Arab territory of fraternal countries next to the occupied territory.

We are working in co-operation with the Arab forces to turn the slogan of the pan-Arabism of the battle into a practical thing - a comprehensive pan-Arab mobilization that will fulfil the tasks of the struggle for liberation. We had raised this at the first Tripoli conference.

The regimes that abide by their pan-Arab duties are those supported and deeply admired by the masses. However, the regimes which pay no attention to the urgent pan-Arab question - the liberation of Palestine and all the occupied Arab territory - or which seek attention through propaganda and tactics must be judged by the masses. Our co-operation with all regimes is conditional on the extent of their commitment to the pan-Arab responsibility and embodiment of this in a clear and solid policy.

Asked about the usefulness of raising the Palestine question again at the United Nations, the President said: Our basic objective represented in the struggle for the liberation of Palestine and the occupied Arab territory is a pan-Arab objective that polarizes and encompasses all our other pan-Arab objectives. We find it necessary to pursue all useful means and ways to achieve this objective or pave the way for its achievement.

Inspired by the revolution's principles, it is our belief that armed struggle is the basic course for liberation. Moreover, we find it necessary to benefit to the maximum extent possible from the United Nations so that it can be a platform to defend the rights of the oppressed peoples, particularly our Arab people in Palestine.

Commenting on a question as to whether war would break out in the Middle East by the end of this year, the President said: Basically, war is unleashed by the Israeli entity, which is basically aggressive in nature. When watching current events in the Middle East, we draw attention to two points. The first is that Israel is a fascist and racist entity which does not and cannot halt its aggression. A simple listing of its occupation of extensive Arab territories reveals its nature fully. The second point is that the forces of the Arab revolution cannot remain passive or indifferent to this aggressive war, which is being countered by an armed popular struggle that will end the question of aggression in a radical way. He declared: War in this sense exists, but its appearances may differ. The popular liberation war is the policy which we advocate to confront the Zionist aggressive war against our Arab nation.

Answering a question by the Lebanese papers 'Al-Bayraq' and 'Lisan al-Hal' and the Lebanese magazines 'Al-Hawadith' and 'As-Sayyad' on the possibility of discussing comprehensive Arab unity under the present Arab regimes, the President said: Comprehensive Arab unity is not a mere slogan to be raised. It is a historic struggle which the Arab people must carry out in various stages - a struggle which must mainly absorb the interests of the workers, peasants and people who believe in unity within a democratic national framework. This visualization by us does not mean that all means which must be followed in taking a step towards Arab unity have been exhausted. We therefore support every real union plan which the Arab revolutionary forces or the progressive regimes submit.

President Bakr added: We actually devote much attention to the attitudes of the Government of fraternal Egypt reflected in the speeches and statements of its officials. The Israeli enemy has exposed the fraternal country of Egypt to great losses. The enemy's occupation of Sinai, his pressures on Sinai, and his unleashing of a continuous war against the sovereignty of Arab Egypt are matters which determine Egypt's special position in resisting this aggression. We unconditionally and unrestrictedly support every Arab effort to repulse the Israeli aggression and defend Egypt's sovereignty and rights in its territories.

Answering another question, President Bakr said: Our position on the solutions presented by certain Arab or other states is dictated by political considerations of a fundamental issue, namely, that we always support any real unionist plan which corresponds with the historic unionist interests of the Arab masses and gives them material guarantees. The unity we want is a unity of revolutionary concepts hostile to imperialism, Zionism and reaction; hence, a national (Arabic: qawmiyah) unity of a democratic and socialist line.

Answering a question by the Lebanese paper 'An-Nahar', the Lebanese Television Company and the Associated Press on Egypt's efforts to convene a new Arab summit conference and whether Iraq would attend, President Bakr said: The convocation of a new Arab summit conference depends on the approval of the Arab Kings and Presidents. As for Iraq's participation in the summit conferences, Iraq explained its position on the question of the Zionist occupation of the Arab territories and the course of full liberation in the comprehensive plan it submitted to the first Tripoli conference in 1970, which adopted the pan-Arabism of the battle as a basis for liberation. He added: The development of events in our Arab area has proved that the July revolution and its leader party were right in their assessment in refusing the so-called peaceful solutions because they are a dead end and require a high price from our dignity and rights and are at the expense of the Palestinian people and their right to self-determination. The complete liberation of the Arab territories occupied before and after 1948 requires the mobilization of all the Arab resources and the placing of everything in the service of the fateful battle against the imperialist and Zionist enemy. Our recent national initiative concentrated on the necessity of creating a suitable atmosphere for a unified Arab confrontation to resist the ambitions of the enemies of Arabism and achieve complete victory.

Answering another question, he said: Agreement on a National Action Charter and the realisation of a progressive front in the region constitute a starting point for the achievement of such a coming together (Arabic: liqa) at the level of the Arab homeland. The circumstances of division and occupation which the Arab nation is suffering as a result of the 5th June defeat call for, as a start, a mature national alliance and coherent formulas for the standard of the requirements necessary to overcome this reality.

Answering a question about the role played by the party from a position of authority regarding comprehensive co-operation among the patriotic parties and forces of the Arab homeland, he said: We have taken the initiative and are always taking the initiative to contact the forces and parties which always oppose imperialism and Zionism. We believe the fact that the party is in a position of authority is a new factor adding to the front's effectiveness. We also believe that relations with the Resistance organizations are necessary and should be preserved and strengthened continuously.

Answering a question on the Arabian Gulf situation from the 'Baghdad Observer', the Kuwaiti papers 'Al-Yaqazah' and 'Ar-ra'y al-Amm', the Lebanese magazine 'Al-Ushu al-Arabi', the British 'Guardian', Ap and 'L'Orient Express', the President said: We regard the Gulf and its Arabism as a fact. The domestic and national formula for confronting the attempts to undermine its Arabism, whether these attempts are made by Iran or anyone else, is one of general popular and official Arab confrontation. Iraq has moved to draw attention to this new danger at international and Arab levels. All the Arab states have shown understanding for the soundness of the Iraqi view and the imminent danger to the Arabism of the Gulf as a result of these threats and claims that we and you are continuously hearing, especially since they have recently been intensified.

Commenting on a question about the visits paid by his envoys to the Arab Kings and Presidents in connection with the dangers threatening the Arabian Gulf, he said: The results of these visits were good and show a good deal of understanding for the dangers threatening the Arabian Gulf. To us the visits are a matter of stressing an attitude in order to stress the urgent issues of the masses.

Answering another question, he said: To us it is not important that the call has an Iraqi character; we do not seek to make distinctions. What concerns us is the principle of confirming the historical Arabism of the Gulf. Nothing else is of consequence to us. Our principle explains the real meaning of Arabism.

Answering a question from Tass on Iraq's relations with the socialist states, the President said: Co-operation with the socialist countries is a necessity dictated by the stage's prerequisites for strengthening the march of the revolution and its confrontation of imperialist plans, methods and pressures. We have large-scale co-operation with the socialist countries. We hope to develop it as much as possible in the interests of our people and homeland.

Answering a question from AP about his health in the light of reports that he is very ill, the President said: I am as you see me. I get sick as you do and get well as you do. My hands are sound as you see. He raised his hands for the journalists to see. He added: Anything said to the contrary is a mere fabrication. It is a lie. I am among my brothers the Iraqi people, working with my comrades and other Iraqi brothers, responsible for running the state's affairs for the good and prosperity of the people. It was the pressure of continuous work which made me spend three days in hospital at the insistence of the doctors and despite my own opposition to it. Thank you again and goodbye.

The conference lasted two hours.

Damascus Comment on Iraq's November Anniversary

Damascus home service in Arabic 19.15 GMT 18.11.71

Excerpts from commentary entitled: "The November apostasy in Iraq disavows the first progressive Arab revolution":

... The 8th February revolution in Iraq and the 8th March revolution in Syria marched side by side. The two flags and peoples were reunited and the one party in both regions became active on a firm foundation of popular support and clarity of aims...

On 18th November an opportunist manoeuvring group voicing the slogans of the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party infiltrated in order to strike at the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party, defame the faithful leaders and accuse them of treason to justify killing, the prohibition of freedom and the acquisition of funds; to pave the way for the destruction of the 8th March revolution; to plot against Arab unity, Arab freedom, the liberation of Arab territory and Arab socialism; and to serve individual interests and selfish ambitions. This anti-Arab revolution group did not hesitate to ally itself with the reactionary and opportunist elements and with all the enemies of the pioneer revolution in Iraq who did not like Iraq's march on the road to unity or the resolutions of the Party's Sixth National Congress.

The pioneer Iraqi revolution was thus frustrated and replaced by an oppressive, selfish regime which did not hesitate to betray the Arab nation's main cause, abandon the Palestine Resistance, enable its enemies to hit at it and inflict losses on its valiant heroes, and frustrate the attempts to strengthen the eastern front by making up excuses and ignoring its responsibilities by means of numerous frivolities and lies...

The attitude of this group, which still rules Iraq, attracted all the enemies of the Arab revolution, socialism and liberation in the Arab homeland. It was thus the cause of the revolutionary setback and the factor which tipped the scales in favour of wrong against right in fraternal Iraq.

However, the popular ranks in Iraq, aware of the objectives of the November apostasy and suffering under the tyranny of the present Iraqi rulers, have not abandoned their pioneer party. They have not been deceived by the fact that this stray group assumed the name of their revolutionary party. They began struggling under difficult circumstances and under the yoke of an oppressive barbarous regime which does not hesitate to murder and assassinate. They assumed the task of exposing the Iraqi rulers and their plots against the progressive national revolution in Syria. The popular ranks in Iraq also rejected the trick of gaining the sympathy of and patronising the elements of the Syrian domineering, manoeuvring mentality who were deposed before the 16th November corrective movement. The popular ranks exposed these elements and the aim behind using them to defame the progressive, revolutionary steps in the Syrian Arab region.

Tomorrow, these unionist progressive forces in Iraq will organise, honour their responsibilities and enter the battle of salvation to take fraternal Iraq out of its isolation into unity with the Arab nation, to save Iraq from its disintegration and loss and return it to its real place in the unionist socialist struggle and to put Iraq's gigantic resources in the service of the liberation of the Arab territory.

The awaited Iraqi unity will achieve all its objectives after winning a victory against all the forces of vanity, treason and corruption.

Qadhafi's Id al-Fitr Address

Libyan radio in Arabic 07.06 GMT 18.11.71

Excerpts from address relayed from the square near Revolution Command Council headquarters:

... Today I wish to congratulate those stationed on the Suez Canal and in the Golan Heights, and the Palestinian fida'iyn in the Yarmuk camps. On this day when the struggle between the Arabs and Israelis is intensifying, we wish to draw the attention of the ignorant throughout the world to the facts about the Israelis, the Israelis who now occupy Palestine on the basis of their idea that they are the sons of Israel.

These Israelis [word indistinct] all the prophets. We now hear that the Israelis agree on certain things with the Security Council, the UN, Jarring, Sisco and Rogers, but then they violate agreements. They are members of the UN and yet they do not comply with UN resolutions. But we, who know the Qur'an and know God's curse on the Israelis, know that this is a habit of theirs. They always violate conventions... For this reason, if they ever agreed with us, we would not believe in such agreement. If they said that tomorrow they were going to withdraw from the occupied territory, they would not be likely to honour such a commitment...

They call for respect for the UN while they themselves do not respect it. They claim that the Arabs are going to attack them and that Egypt is a colonialist state, that the Arabs are going to devour them while in fact they are devouring the Arabs and they are the colonialists. They claim that the Arabs are racialists while they are the ones who are racialists... In other words, they do the opposite of what they say. This is the truth about the sons of Israel.

For this reason, we in this country believe that the Arab-Israeli dispute has gone beyond the point of peaceful solution because the sons of Israel are not trustworthy... The Arab-Israeli struggle is a national and religious struggle because history is governed by [word indistinct] national and religious struggle and not by economic factors as Marx said. History is governed by national and religious struggle. All wars in the world, from the beginning up to the present, were based on religious and national issues. The struggle between the Egyptians and the Israelis dates back to the Pharaohs...

On this day we must remember the Palestinian fighters. We must also point out to all Muslims and to the whole Arab nation that the fida'i action is chained and that Israel nowadays feels reassured and completely relieved as far as fida'i action is concerned. This is because Arab regimes have chained the fida'i action and have prevented it from being [word indistinct]. Today we say that fida'i action must be launched from all points: it must start from Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Sinai. The fida'i holy war must be launched on all fronts. We are not just uttering words but declare here that we shall place material resources at the service of the pan-Arabism of fida'i action. We also urge that fida'i action must not be confined to Palestinians alone. All the sons of the Arab nation must be prepared to volunteer to fight on the Palestinian battlefield [shouts of God is great]...

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British Interests Section

BAGHDAD

1/8

Miss V E Beckett
Near Eastern Department
F C O

(LAST PAPER)

8 December 1971

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REC'D

Received

Dear Veronica

NATIONAL CHARTER

1. I am sorry we have not previously offered any comments on the statement issued on 27 November by the Politburo of the Iraqi Communist Party (CPI) on the National Charter, which you will have seen in the Baghdad Observer of 2 December.

2. Our preliminary thoughts (and we have not had time for subsequent ones!) on this statement are that:

- as we hazarded earlier, the Ba'ath appear to have at least partially squared the Communists before the publication of the Charter
- the publication of a statement critical of the Ba'ath by another organisation that is formally banned suggests that the Ba'ath are serious about reaching agreement with the Communists
- the Communists, while also keen to do business, are under no illusions about the Ba'ath's intentions to try to keep their hands firmly on the levers of power; and
- the emphasis on the 11 March 1970 agreement suggests that the Communists are warning the Ba'ath that any future deviation by the Ba'ath towards exaggerated concern over "secondary contradictions among the revolutionary forces" will be met by a Communist/Kurdish mutual defence agreement.

3. Could you please send copies of the CPI statement to the other recipients of this letter?

(LAST PAPER)

Yours ever

(am)

D I Lewty

c.c. Chanceries at:

BEIRUT
TEHRAN
KUWAIT
CAIRO
MOSCOW

yes, pl see
have you (w 49) →
done lists?
Many thanks
Mr P. 16/12

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Regy: Pl copy passage
marked a → p 5 of
Baghdad Observer
to the posts listed. 16. 12/12

Copied to: Cairo, Moscow, Kuwait, Tehran and Beirut

15/12

THE BAGHDAD OBSERVER

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1971.

Iraqi Communist Party Evaluates National Action Charter

W49

The Politbureau of the Iraqi Communist Party, on November 27, issued a statement on the National Action Charter. Following is the text of the statement:

"Our party has attentively considered the National Action Charter put forward by the Leadership of the Arab Baath Socialist Party. The party's leading bodies have begun studying and debating the Charter. But the brevity of the period that elapsed between the receipt by our party of a copy of the Charter and the Charter's release for publication permitted only a general evaluation of the Charter's contents and trends.

"Our Party has valued the step made in presenting the National Action Charter in these circumstances when all patriots feel that cooperation between national parties and forces and the creation of a united front among them has become a necessity that admits of no further delays. This is so for confronting the Israeli aggression and the imperialist, Zionist and reactionary schemings whose perils have lately been intensified whether on the level of the Arab national liberation movement as a whole or on the level of our national movement, and for the accomplishment of the difficult and complex assignments confronting our Iraqi people and our Arab nation.

(a) The causes of the defeat and setbacks have been attributed to an inclination to hold secondary contradictions between the detachments of the revolutionary movement above the main contradiction with imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

(1) Against this background and bearing in mind the current dangers converging on Iraq and the Arab world, stress has been laid on the importance of common action and alliance between various detachments of the revolutionary movement.

Our Party has noted with interest one paragraph in the preface to the draft Charter which adroitly defined the direction of the national liberation struggle as demanded by the current stage. The substance of this paragraph is as follows: Union between various sections of the progressive national movement should rest on the intensification of struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction and an enabling the masses to assume the leadership of their battle. The paragraph also contains a provision calling for providing all democratic and revolutionary climates for these masses and liquidating all forms of oppression directed against them and against their political, unionist and etc."

"Preliminarily, our party is of the view that the proposed Charter embodies foundations suitable for national cooperation -- more so if the efforts made to reach agreement on it are accompanied with serious debates designed to put the Charter in a formula acceptable to all parties invited to cooperate.

"At the foundation of the evaluation made by our party are the following points:

"First: The draft Charter, by its contents and main trends, is of anti-imperialistic character. As such, it sets fundamental and concrete objectives for national liberation struggle and invites the national forces opposed to imperialism, Zionism and reaction, to cooperate for attaining to these go-

In the view of our Party, these matters can be agreed upon through direct dialogue that seeks to attain to the best cooperation formula.

On the other hand, our Party has observed a review made in the draft Charter of the accomplishments of the Arab Baath Socialist Party over the past three years since it the Party came to power. Those accomplishments have received our support and backing. Our Party considers that the consolidation of these accomplishments is some thing quite understandable in respect to a party that is at the helm of political power in the country. But the draft Charter, as a document offered for cooperation with other parties and forces, requires, in our opinion the confirmation of certain basic principles as regards dealing with these forces and particularly their organised political parties. In the forefront comes the question of mutual respect between them as political parties independent ideologically, politically and organisationally. Our Party has a notable record to its credit in the protracted revolutionary march of our people, as surely have the other national parties.

Secondly: The draft Charter underscores the importance of carrying on with the task of strengthening cooperation with the socialist countries and proclaiming "full and firm alignment with the camp of peoples struggle against imperialism and aggression".

Thirdly: The draft Charter charts a progressive programme for socio-economic transformation and views the road of capitalistic development as one rejected by principle.

Fourthly: The draft Charter lays emphasis on the peaceful and democratic settlement of the Kurdish question and on the fact that the March 11 Manifesto offers the sound framework for guaranteeing the legitimate rights and nationalist aspirations of our Kurdish people, self-rule included."

Our party considers that the accentuation of this vital issue and its implementation in letter and spirit assume special importance in these days when negative signs are looming in the relations between the Government and the Arab Baath Socialist Party on the one hand and the Kurdistan Democratic Party on the other. The Party is also of the view that all parties concerned should display the highest degree of wakefulness and act with wisdom and sagacity to deal with these phenomena and pass them over — this all being something responsive to the interest of the people as regards national unity and the consolidation of militant alliance between the two Arab and Kurdish peoples.

Fifth: Besides, the draft Charter, in its preface, makes some important conclusions derived from the trial and error and the failures which marked the revolutionary movement in Iraq and in the Arab world. Chief among these are the following:

In our opinion, successful struggle against imperialism, Zionism and the forces of reaction requires stress to be laid on some of the principles which are wholly and organically associated with the prerequisites involved:

First: The first and most important of these prerequisites is the liquidation of all forms of oppression directed against the masses and their political institutions, especially their national parties. Obviously, the call for struggle against imperialism cannot co-exist with the act of oppressing any anti-imperialistic national force. Our Party which, imbued with a high sense of responsibility, recently called for opening a new chapter of cooperation and positive relations, is much interested to see a final and decisive end put to all forms of oppression practised against it or against any other national force.

Secondly: Arrive at militant national an effective cooperation, requires as matter of course and as stated in the draft Charter itself, guarantees to release all democratic freedoms to the masses of the people and their national and progressive forces — such freedoms to include the freedom of political parties, social, and occupational associations and trade unions, the freedom of press, the freedom of expression and belief and other fundamental basic freedoms.

In this context, our Party wishes to make the following observations:

(a) The above-mentioned freedoms should not be subject to any subsequent legal restrictions.

(b) Our Party positively values the importance of providing for the freedom of political parties.

(c) Among the most important basic guarantees for the democratic system is the setting up of constitutional establishments, the laying down of a permanent democratic con-

These points, including in particular the ideas set in the draft charter concerning the political system and the problems of democracy as well as those which relate to the character of the stage and certain solutions suggested for Arab and Kurdish issues are all matters on which understanding and agreement may be arrived at through a direct dialogue between the national parties and forces.

"Our Party is of the view that direct contacts, constructive and purposeful debate, and guidance by the spirit of sincere cooperation represent the best way for abridging time and placing the draft charter in a more perfect and more precise formula so as to make it acceptable to all national parties invited to cooperate.

"Our Party, in assuming this attitude, simply stems from its consistent doctrinal policy towards the importance of cooperation and the Front — a policy which the Party has always pursued. It also stems from the root national and nationalist interests particularly the interests of the toiling masses which has been and still are advocating and struggling to get their parties and national forces meet in a united front in accordance with a programme of struggle leading the people up the road of liberation, democracy and social progress".

ANKARA UNDER CURFEW FOLLOWING ESCAPE OF 5 AWAITING TRIAL

Ankara, Wednesday.

A curfew was imposed here from one o'clock to four o'clock this morning following the escape of the five young men who were awaiting trial on charges of participating in the assassination of the Zionist Consul-General in Istanbul early this year. The Turkish military prosecutor has asked for death penalty to be imposed on the defendants —

AFP/INA.

Source Citation

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